

HISTORY
OF THE
PANJAB HILL STATES.

VOLUME I.

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HISTORY OF THE PANJAB HILL STATES.

VOLUME I.



BY

J. HUTCHISON, L.R.C.P. & S.E.

J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.

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PREFACE.

THE Chapters in these volumes first appeared as separate papers in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* as a contribution to the history of the Western Himalaya, and the authors desire to acknowledge the courtesy of that Society in granting permission for their republication. The principal reason for doing so is, to place the historical information they contain, in a more accessible form, at the disposal of Government and State officers, as well as students of History. The material has been acquired from many sources and after laborious research, extending over many years, and has been examined and sifted with much care. It would be too much to claim freedom from error, and the authors make no such claim. Those who have had experience of historical research in India will realise the difficulties which had to be encountered and overcome in the accomplishment of our task. A large part of the material has been acquired at a time when many causes are at work which are tending to destroy the isolation of the hills, and with it much of historical value. The generation that found a pleasure in treasuring and transmitting historical and traditionary lore is rapidly passing away, and we are fortunate, therefore, in having secured so much of what still remains. If, as the outcome of our labours, others are encouraged to add to the store, a great end will have been gained. To us, as a labour of love, the task has been a congenial one, and its completion is a sufficient reward.

As the original papers were all written as separate and independent contributions, and some of them for a specific purpose, a certain amount of repetition was unavoidable to preserve the continuity of the narrative. This it has been found difficult to eliminate in their present form.

We wish to make grateful acknowledgment of much valued help from many friends, most of whom are referred to in the body of the work. Special mention is made of Mr. G. C. Howell, I.C.S., Mr. H. L. Shuttleworth, I.C.S., and Mr. H. W. Emerson (now Sir Herbert Emerson), I.C.S., also the late Rev. Dr. A. H. Francké of the Moravian Mission. Among Indian friends to whom we are deeply indebted we would name Raja Ikram-Ullah-Khan, of Wazirabad ; Thakur Kahn-Singh Balauria, of Jammu ; Lala Sri-Gopal, of Mandi, and the late Pir Ghulam Muhai-ud-din, of the Israr-ud-Din Ziarat, Kashtwar.

J. HUTCHISON, L.R.C.P. & S.E.

J. PH. VOGEL, PH. D.

NOTE.—*The Punjab Government takes no responsibility for the correctness of any statement or expression of views made in this book.*

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CHAPTER I.

Introductory.¹

TILL comparatively recent times the history of the Western Himalaya has received little notice from European scholars. Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to direct attention to the subject, and the results of his researches are to be found in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India and the *Ancient Geography of India*. More recently Kashmir has been exhaustively dealt with in Sir Aurel Stein's annotated translation of the *Rajatarangini*,—a book which is invaluable to all students of the history of the hills.

Kashmir is the only country in India of which we possess a written and detailed history of the Hindu period; and this it owes to the literary labours of the poet-historian, Kalhana. He lived in the reign of Raja Jaya-Sinha, A.D. 1129—55; and his work was begun in 1148 and completed in 1150. Nowhere does Kalhana claim originality for his composition; on the contrary, he acknowledges his indebtedness to the labours of earlier writers, whose records have now been lost. "Eleven works of former scholars," he says, "containing the chronicles of the kings I have consulted." The *Rajatarangini* deals with the history of Kashmir from the earliest times down to the period in which the author lived; and it also throws important side-lights on the history of neighbouring countries, and even of India generally. "But its chief interest," as Sir Aurel Stein remarks, "lies in the fact, that it represents a class of Sanskrit composition which comes nearest in character to the chronicles of Mediæval Europe and the Muhammadan East. Together with the later Kashmir Chronicles, which continue Kalhana's narrative, it is practically the only specimen of this class now extant." These remarks are specially true of the States immediately beyond the confines of Kashmir, many of which were tributary to that Kingdom in its palmyest days. Of those then in existence there are few which are not mentioned; and in many instances the references are of great historical value. On this subject we shall have more to say,

¹ This chapter was the first of a series of papers which were prepared for the Panjab Historical Society, as a contribution to the history of the Western Hills. They deal only with the outer hills to the south of the main Himalayan axis, and chiefly to the region lying between the Satluj and the Jellum, excluding Kashmir.

when we come to speak of the ancient inscriptions and other remains, so common in some parts of the hills. The later chronicles, which continue the history of Kashmir after Kalhana's time, are : firstly, that of Jonaraja, from 1150 to 1459 ; secondly, of Srivara, embracing the period from 1459 to 1486 ; and, lastly, the Fourth Chronicle, begun by Prajyabhatta and completed by his pupil, Suka, some time after the Mughal conquest of Kashmir in 1586. These works are very inferior in literary style and historical merit to the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, and they afford little help in our study of the history of the hills.

But Kalhana and his immediate successors are not the only scholars who have left historical records. We are also under deep obligation to a great band of Indian writers—most of whose names are unknown to us—who have rendered eminent service to the cause of history. Chief among these are the compilers of the *Vansavalis*, or genealogical rolls of the ancient rulers. From remote times it has been the custom, in the royal and noble families of India, to keep a careful record of their pedigree in a document called *Vansavali*. Such documents are common in the Western Hills, and are preserved with so much care that it is often with the greatest difficulty that a copy can be obtained. They were usually composed by the Rajaguru or royal preceptor, and the office being hereditary, they remained from age to age in the custody of the same family. Some of them are of doubtful value ; while others possess the accuracy of true historical records. The principal part of the *Vansavali* consists of a long list of the names of the Rajas—often partly mythical—who are believed to have ruled in succession from ancient times. Many of them contain little more than this ; but in the case of others we find details of great interest.

Mr. William Moorcroft was the first to draw the attention of students of Indian History to the existence of such documents in the Panjab Hills. On the occasion of his visit, in June 1820, to the Court of Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra—then residing at Tira-Sujanpur—he thus refers to the royal *Vansavali*, which had been produced for his inspection :¹—“ Sansar-Chand deduces his descent from Mahadeo, and has a pedigree in which his ancestors are traced to their celestial progenitor through many thousand years. I requested to have a copy

¹ Moorcroft. *Travels*, Volume 1, page 145.

NOTE.—*Vansavali* is pronounced *bansavali* colloquially.

of this document, and some Kashmir Pandits were ordered to transcribe it against my return. The pedigree is written in verse and contains, in general, little more than the birth and death of each male individual of the family." As we know, Mr. Moorcroft never returned to claim the document that was ordered to be prepared for him.

In addition to the official *Fansawali* of each State, which is usually in Sanskrit verse, there are also chronicles in the vernacular. These are mostly in manuscript, but, in the case of not a few, they have been printed and published. Though helpful in elucidating obscure passages, they must be used with due caution, as their compilers have often failed to understand the original.

Sir Alexander Cunningham fully recognized the importance of the *Fansawalis*; and in speaking of that of Kangra he says :¹—" Their genealogy from the time of the founder, Sasarma-Chandra, appears to me to have a much stronger claim to our belief than any of the long strings of names shown by the more powerful families of Rajputana." The correctness of this remark is fully borne out by the fact, that the *Fansawalis*, in many cases, contain names which are known from epigraphical and literary sources. In his account of the Panjab Hill States, he published lists of the Rajas of Kangra, Nurpur, Mandi, Suket, Chamba and Rujauri. The *Fansawali* of the Rajas of Kulu was edited by Captain Harcourt, Assistant Commissioner of Kulu from April 1869 to March 1871, with much interesting detail, in his book *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, 1871. The historical documents of Kulu have also been discussed by Dr. Hirananda Sastri.²

The oldest authentic historical reference to the Hill States is to be found in the records of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in A.D. 629 and remained till 644. He spent two years in Kashmir. The States referred to by him are Urashia or Hazara; Parnotsa or Punch; Rajapuri or Rujauri; Trigarta or Jalandhara (Kangra) and Kuluta or Kulu: of which the first three were then subject to Kashmir.

We also find numerous and detailed references to some of the Panjab Hill States, in the works of the Muhammadan historians, from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, and more especially during the Mughal period; and in the possession of many of the royal families of the hills are letters and *sanads*

¹ *Ancient Geography of India*, page 138.

² *Archæological Survey Report*, 1907-08, page 200-ff.

from the Mughal Emperors and their executive officers, as well as correspondence of a later date with the Durani and Sikh Durbars ; and also with neighbouring States.

Among other literary sources of information are the works of European travellers, of whom the principal are the following :—

William Finch and Thomas Coryat in the time of Jahangir : François Bernier in the time of Aurangzeb ; Forster in 1783 ; Moorcroft, 1820—22, and Vigne, 1835—39. Forster was a Civil officer in the service of the East India Company. He travelled through the outer hills from Nahan, *via* Bilaspur, Haripur and Nurpur to Basohli and Jammu ; and thence over the Banihal Pass to Kashmir. His journey was made at an interesting period in Indian History, and he portrays a vivid picture of the disorder then prevailing in the hills, as well as on the plains. Moorcroft was also in the East India Company's service. He travelled from Nahan, *via* Bilaspur, Mandi and Kulu to Ladakh and Kashmir, and visited Nadaun and Tira-Sujanpur on the way. Vigne was a private gentleman, travelling for pleasure. His itinerary is entertaining and full of interest, but lacks the scholarly thoroughness and literary style of Forster and Moorcroft. It contains much information regarding the condition of the hills, soon after most of the Hill States had been absorbed in the Sikh Kingdom. Of more recent works, the most valuable are Drew's *Jammu and Kashmir*, and that of Count Ujfalvy—Hungarian Ethnologist—*Aus dem Westlichen Himalaya*. We may also mention the various publications on the History of the Sikhs, by Prinsep and others, and the official compilations by Sir Lepel Griffin. Some of the District and State Gazetteers are also helpful, as containing much interesting information about the hills. The chief are those of Kangra, with the Kangra Settlement Report : Kulu, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur and Hazara, and of Chamba, Mandi and Suket. Finally, special mention must be made of the history of the Panjab by Sayyad Muhammad Latif, which contains numerous references to the Hill States during Sikh rule, culled from vernacular authors and documents not easily accessible to the European student of history.

Material of a numismatic character, which plays such an important part in the history of the plains, is comparatively scanty in the hills. Kashmir, Kangra and Kulu had each its own coinage in former times, and some of the other States,

it is true, has yielded the two ancient rock inscriptions already mentioned and the important Eulogies of Baijnath ; an inscription of the Gupta period has also come to light on the borders of Kulu ; but later inscriptions in that country do not go back beyond the middle of the sixteenth century. /

One point must be specially noted in connection with these documents : they all possess one feature in common. Almost without exception they have a religious purport which is definitely stated in the inscription. In the case of those recording the consecration of temples or images, this is obvious. The donations of land to Brahmans and temples, recorded on the copper-plates, had likewise the character of pious acts, calculated to increase the religious merit of the donor, and the same is true of the fountain-slabs, erected in memory of deceased ancestors, and for the sake of their bliss in the next world.

On the other hand, the sacred associations attaching to all these inscriptions have, in a large degree, contributed to preserve them from wilful damage ; where inscriptions have become defaced or destroyed, it has been mostly due to the forces of nature. In only very few instances have such stones been appropriated to building purposes or wantonly damaged.

The essentially religious character of the inscriptions at once indicates their limitations as historical records. Practically none of them were intended to commemorate a historical event, and references to such are only incidental ; and yet they possess a special value for local history which it is hardly necessary to emphasize. They do not, it is true, enable us to solve any of the great problems of Indian History, but, in the case of some of the Hill States, they help us to write a more detailed and coherent story than would otherwise be possible. They also throw side-lights on the history of neighbouring States, where ancient documents are less numerous and every scrap of information is of value. And even where historical documents do exist, their contents can often be supplemented from the inscriptions. This is specially true of Kashmir. The *Rajatarangini* is replete with information about the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the epoch to which most of the Chamba inscriptions belong. Thus it happens that Kalhana's Chronicle imparts life to the stone slabs and metal plates of Chamba ; while these in their turn confirm the trustworthiness of the great Chronicle of Kashmir. And Chamba is by no means the only Hill State mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* ; there

is hardly a single principality of any size, then in existence in the hills between the Bias and the Indus, to which reference is not made. In addition to Chamba, the most important of these were Trigarta or Kangra ; Valapura or Balor ; Babba-pura or Babor (in all likelihood an ancient capital of Jammu) ; Kashtavata or Kashtwar ; Rajapuri or Rajanri ; Parnotsa or Punch and Urasha or Hazara. The smaller States of the Dugar and Kangra groups had not then been founded, while countries like Kulu, Bilaspur and Suket were too far away to be within the political influence of Kashmir.¹ In none of them do we derive from the *Rajatarangini* the same measure of help as in the case of Chamba ; but in all, so far as known, the local records confirm the Chronicle.

The most difficult problem connected with the interpretation of these epigraphical and historical records is their chronology. The oldest documents do not bear any date, and we have therefore to rely entirely on palæographical evidence. Not till the eleventh century do we find a recognized era in use. This era bears various names—such as Lokakala or popular era, Saptarshikala or era of the Seven Seers, *Sastra Sambat*, *Pahari Sambat* and *Kachcha Sambat*, the last name being due probably to the practice of omitting the figure or figures indicating the century. It is still in use throughout the Western Hills, along with the Vikrama and Christian eras ; and is locally indicated by the names of *Kashmiri Sambat* and *Rajsi Sambat*. For chronological purposes this era is unsatisfactory, owing to the uncertainty as to the century to which the date belongs. As already stated, the reckoning is never carried beyond 100, and each century as it comes to an end is entirely left out of computation. The *Rajatarangini* is dated wholly in this era. The *Sastra* era is a cycle of 2,700 years, each century being named after one of the 27 *Nakshatras*, or lunar mansions.²

In his work on the Saptarshi era Professor Kielhorn points out that, disregarding the hundreds, we must add 25 to the year of a date in that era, to find the corresponding expired year within any of the centuries of the Kaliyuga : 45, to find similarly the corresponding expired Saka year : 81, to find the corresponding Vikrama year : and 24, to find the corresponding year of any of the centuries of our own era. This is well

¹ Kulu is mentioned only once and that incidentally.

² The commencement of the *Sastra*, *Saptarshi* or *Laukika* era is placed on 1st Chaitra (March-April) of the year B.C. 3070-75—Vide *Rajatarangini*, Stein, Volume I, page 58.

illustrated in an inscription in Chamba town, which is dated, *Vikrama Samvat* 1717 : *Saka Samvat* 1582 : *Sastra Samvat* 36 : *Vaisakha Va, di-13, Mesha Sankranti* ; corresponding to Wednesday, the 28th March, A.D. 1660. The Saptarshi year, like the Saka, has always begun in the month of Chaitra.

It is much to be regretted that, in the Chamba inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period, we never find the *Vikrama* or *Saka* eras used side by side with that of the Seven Seers. As regards those inscriptions which are dated in the *Sastra* era alone, there is first of all the uncertainty as to the century to which they refer. In some of the inscriptions we find, in addition to the *Sastra* date, the regnal year of the ruling Raja, and in such cases the century can usually be ascertained, with the aid of the *Rajatarangini* and the *Vansavali*. If the inscription contains only one date the problem is more difficult ; as in some cases it is not clear whether the year is a regnal one, or refers to the *Sastra* era. A regnal year supplies in most cases only an approximate date. If, however, the day of the week is mentioned, an attempt can be made to fix the exact date, or alternative dates, within a certain period. If the inscription is dated according to the *Sastra* era, we have to rely entirely on external evidence, but in instances where the day of the week is mentioned, it will often be possible to find the century. Of the epigraphical records the rock inscriptions are the oldest and least numerous, the oldest dating from the seventh century. Most of the slab inscriptions are found on flat stones, covered with grotesque figures, which originally formed part of elaborately carved *panihars* or cisterns ; erected in the olden times, chiefly by the Ranas and Thakurs—who were feudatories of the Rajas—in memory of their deceased relatives, and for their spiritual bliss in the next world. The carved slabs are found all through the hills, but the inscribed stones seem to be peculiar to Chamba. The oldest of the slab inscriptions dates from about A.D. 1028.

Of the image inscriptions the oldest in Chamba belong to the beginning of the eighth century, and they have enabled us to correct the Chamba *Vansavali*, and to fix the chronological succession of four of the earliest Rajas of the State. ✓

From the historical standpoint the copper-plate title-deeds are also important and interesting. It was the custom to give such deeds in the olden time, conferring grants of land on Brahmans and temples : and probably few rulers have been so

generous in the bestowal of these gifts, as the former Rajas of Chamba. At the present day there exist not less than 150 of these documents in the State ; the oldest extant having been issued by Raja Yugakara-Varman, son and successor of Raja Sahila-Varman, who founded the present capital. The date of this plate cannot be later than the middle of the tenth century of our era. Large as this number is, there can be no doubt that it falls far short of the total of plates issued, for many must have been lost. There is a break in the issue of plates, from A.D. 1080 to 1390 ; but from that time they continue almost without interruption down to the present day.

So far as known, Chamba is the only place in the Panjab where copper-plate grants of the pre-Muhammadan period¹ are found, and the existence of a series of documents of this kind—issued by a line of rulers of one State during a period of ten centuries,—is thus unique in the Province and probably in the whole of India.

Their importance for historical purposes lies in the fact, that in each of them is recorded the name of the Raja by whom the grant was made, as well as that of his father and mother, and sometimes of one or more of his ancestors ; also the name of the donee and his place of residence. The plates of the tenth and eleventh centuries bear only the regnal year of the ruling chief, but from A.D. 1390 downwards the date of issue is given in the Sastra era alone, or along with the Vikrama or Saka era. Some of the plates contain other details of great historical value.

Another circumstance which lends a special charm to the study of these ancient remains is, that in them the present is linked with the past by an unbroken tie. In Chamba, for example, ancient conditions and institutions have survived to the present time, of which in most other parts of India even the remembrance has long since passed away. The State is still ruled by a descendant of the royal line, some of whose members bore a conspicuous part in the civil wars of Kashmir, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He still resides in the ancient capital of his ancestors, and is saluted by his subjects with the classical greeting of *Jaideva*. At the original capital of Brahmapura, now Brahmaur,² the brazen idols still stand in the carved temples in which they were placed by Raja Meru-Varman, about A.D. 700 ; and in the present capital

¹ These are five in number.

² Barmaur of the map.

pūja is still performed as of yore, in the elaborate shrines erected by Raja Sahila-Varman, in the early part of the tenth century. The Ranas—those powerful “barons of the Hills,” whose tenure ante-dated even that of the Rajas—are represented by numerous families, still clinging to their ancient title and to the remnants of their former patrimony. The official, too, who presides over each of the fifty *parganas*, or sub-divisions of the State, still bears the title *Chata*—now *Char*—which in Chamba has remained unchanged from remote times, though it has long since passed into oblivion in every other part of India. The same is true of other parts of the Western Hills though in a minor degree; especially in Kangra and Kulu and the States of Mandi and Suket.

Lastly, common tradition is often useful in throwing light on the events of the past, and much information of a fairly reliable character has come down to us through this channel. In the hills social conditions have been prevalent from remote times, which give to traditionary lore an importance and credibility which it would not elsewhere possess. Till comparatively recent years the hills were almost entirely isolated from the plains. The rugged character of the country made invasion difficult and conquest practically impossible: and while on the plains, dynasty succeeded dynasty, and one invasion after another left desolation in its track, the principalities of the hills enjoyed comparative peace. This is chiefly the reason why we read of so few dynastic changes: and why, as Sir Denzil Ibbetson truly remarks, there exist in the hills “Rajput dynasties with pedigrees more ancient and unbroken than can be shown by any other royal families in the world.” Nor is this claim to ancient lineage confined to the families of the ruling Chiefs. Many Brahmans also can prove, by the title-deeds in their possession, that their ancestors have held their lands in unbroken tenure for many centuries, and in some cases for nearly a thousand years. Even the common farmers, in numerous instances, reside in the same villages and till the same lands as their ancestors have done from time immemorial. And older families than even these are to be found in the hills—the descendants of petty Chiefs called Ranas and Thakurs, who, according to common tradition, held independent rule in the dim and misty past, long before the Rajas appeared on the scene. If to all this be added the glamour and romance of the hills: the conservative character of the people and their devoted attachment to their hereditary Chiefs, and their native land in all its interests: we have

those conditions, in full measure, which tend to foster a love of traditional lore, and to create an atmosphere most favourable for its transmission, with remarkable accuracy of detail, to posterity.

It is only during the lifetime of the present generation, that influences have been at work which threaten to revolutionize the social life of the hills. The antiquarian cannot but deplore this change, which, though otherwise beneficial, yet tends to destroy so much that is sanctified by the ages. But he cannot prevent it, and instead of indulging in vain regrets he will do well to treasure up, as far as possible, the records of a past that will soon be forgotten.

CHAPTER II.

Ranas and Thakurs of the Western Himalaya.

THE oldest traditions in the hills refer to a time when petty Chiefs, bearing the title of Rana or Thakur, exercised authority, either as independent rulers or under the suzerainty of a paramount power. The period during which they ruled is spoken of as the *Apthakuri* or *Apthakurai*, while the territory of a Rana was called *ranhun* and of a Thakur *thākuri*, or *thakurai*. These States were of very diminutive size, and their boundaries were liable to constant change, according as each ruler gained an ascendancy or yielded to superior force. In considering the political organization of the hills, at that early period, we must dismiss from our minds all ideas of fully-organized principalities, and think of an order of things that was patriarchal rather than monarchical, and very much akin to the clan system of the Highlands of Scotland, down to the eighteenth century. When this organization came into existence we cannot say; but its primitive character suggests the possibility of its having been the earliest form of government in force in the hills. The first historical notice, if we may call it so, of the political condition of the hills, is to be found in the pages of the Muhammadan historian, *Ferishta*. He states that at an early period a King of Kanauj, named Ramdeo Rathor, invaded and conquered Kumaun and overran the Savalak hills as far west as Jammu Fort.¹ His narrative is somewhat confused, but the event has usually been assigned to the first century of the Christian era, and if authentic it cannot have been much later. This expedition is said to have occupied five months, during which 500 petty Chiefs were subdued, among whom the Rajas of Nagarkot or Kangra and Jammu are specially mentioned. Where *Ferishta* got this information we cannot tell, but most likely it was from old documents which have now perished.²

Till recent years this incident must have been largely discounted as mythical, but later research has thrown a

¹ By Jammu Fort is evidently meant the Fort of Bahu opposite Jammu which is said to be very ancient. *Vide* Brigg's *Ferishta*, 1910, Volume I, page 78.

² Even if we assign a much later date for *Ferishta*'s record, it still has an interesting significance as regards the early political condition of the hills.

NOTE.—The name *Savalak* is applied to the outer low hills bordering upon the plains, about 30 miles in road distance, consisting of tertiary sandstones and conglomerates. The name is composed of *sava* "one and a quarter," and *lakh*, "hundred thousand," referring to the numerous ranges of which the area consists.

clearer light on the ancient polity of the hills. We now know that, with the exception of Kashmir, Kangra and Kulu, the larger principalities of the Western Himalaya were not founded till some centuries after the date referred to. These, therefore, cannot be the Hill States alluded to. Who then were the 500 petty Chiefs subdued by the Raja of Kanauj? The conclusion seems reasonable that here we have a reference to the Ranas and Thakurs. If we assume, and there is fair ground for doing so, that the rule of these petty chieftains extended all over the outer hills, the number mentioned, large though it seems, can only have been a small proportion of the total number. In Chamba State alone, with an area of 3,216 square miles, there must have been more than 100 petty Chiefs in ancient times. It is probable, too, that the invasion was confined to the Savalak area, as the outer hills adjacent to the plains are named, and this would account for the special mention of Nagarkot and Jammu.

We now proceed to discuss the origin and signification of the titles borne by these ancient rulers. On the slab inscriptions and copper-plate title-deeds the Ranas are indicated by the name *Rajanaka*.¹ This word is not found in the classical literature of India, and seems, therefore, to be a Sanskritized rather than a true Sanskrit word. Sir G. Grierson has suggested a connection between this word and the Prakrit title *rajana* (i.e., rajanna, Skr. *rajanya*) which occurs on coins. It seems more probable that the word *rana* is derived directly from *rajan*; evidently it is the oblique case of the word transferred to the nominative. In any case there can be little doubt that it is the original of the modern *rana*, which is used either as the title of a petty Chief, or as a caste name. In the former meaning it is synonymous with Sanskrit *samanta* and *thakkura*. In a Chamba inscription we find the terms *rajanaka* and *samanta* applied to the same person. The word *thakkura* occurs as Thakura in the Mirkula image inscription, but is not found elsewhere in the Chamba epigraphs. In the *Rajatarangini* it is used in exactly the same sense as *rajanaka*, to denote a feudal chieftain.

(The Ranas were of the Kshatriya or warrior caste and are so designated in the Chamba *Vansavali*, or genealogical roll.

¹ In Sanskrit the final *ka* is not pronounced.

NOTE.—Jammu was also an ancient State, though not referred to historically till the tenth century.

The name *Thakkura*, like *Rajanaka*, is also a Sanskritized rather than a true Sanskrit word, and may have been introduced into India by some foreign tribe, purely as a title, meaning "lord."¹ Hence the use of the term "Thakur"—its later form—to denote Vishnu and his incarnations. It, too, is used as a caste name.²

There are reasons for thinking that some of the oldest rulers in the hills, of whom we have any knowledge, belonged to this and similar castes. In an age when might was right it seems improbable that all the ancient rulers were Kshatriyas. In the other communities also there must have been men of strong personality, who claimed and asserted their rights as leaders; just as they have done in every age of Indian history. Such men having conquered a tract of country, assumed or were given the title of *Thakkura*, later, *Thakur*. Their kinsmen would naturally seek a distinctive name for themselves, and thus probably the word acquired the secondary meaning which it still bears, as the name of a separate caste. An exactly analogous adaptation of a title is afforded in the word *Rana*. Originally used only for the petty Chiefs, it also came to be employed later as a caste name, to distinguish their families from ordinary Rajputs. Another form of the caste name was probably *Ranaputra* in analogy with *Rajaputra*, as found in an inscription in the abbreviated form of *Ranautra*.

It would seem that the two titles implied a difference of caste, the *Thakurs* ranking lower than the *Ranas* socially—a distinction which is maintained to the present day. As a caste the *Thakurs* rank, in the hills, immediately below the *Rajputs*. Till recent years our information regarding the *Ranas* and *Thakurs* was derived chiefly from the *Rajatarangini* and the *Bajjnath Eulogies*, but the inscriptions lately found in *Chamba State* have added much to our knowledge of the subject. The oldest inscription by a *Rana* is at *Gun*, in the Upper *Ravi Valley*, and it records the erection of a temple by one *Ashadha*, who calls himself a *samanta* or feudatory of *Raja Meru-Varman*, (A.D. 700). The word

¹ The words *Thakkura*, a title, and *Tukhara*, a tribal name, are etymologically quite distinct.

² In *Rajputana* the *Thakurs* are all *Rajputs*, the name being used chiefly as a title. In the Western Hills *Thakur* is used as a title and also as a caste name in the old families; but among others the caste name is *Thakur*, the ancient form. It may be noted that the title of *Rana* has come down from ancient times in the royal lines of *Udaipur*, *Dholpur* and *Jhalawar*, and the nobility of the *Rajput States* of *Rajputana* all bear the title of *Thakur*.—*See Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 135-6. Even the title of *Raja* is now used as a less name in some of the old families of the hills.

rajanaka does not occur in the inscription, but there can be little doubt that Ashadha was a Rana. The oldest record, actually bearing the title of Rajanaka, was found at Svain, in Hingari *pargana* of Chamba. It states that the image on which the title occurs was set up by one Bhogata, the son of Somata, and it may be assigned to the ninth or tenth century. At Sarahan near Saho, an inscribed stone was found bearing a eulogy, the principal part of which is devoted to the praise of the donor's wife. It probably dates from the tenth century. Among other inscriptions of a later date, the work of Ranas, may be noted that of Nagapala at Devi-Kothi, in Behra *pargana*. It tells us of the devotion of a noble lady, the wife of a Rana, who on the death of her husband was with difficulty restrained from ascending the funeral pyre. It belongs to the twelfth century. Yet another inscription, that of Mulkihar, also of the twelfth century, speaks of the tears shed by a chieftain and his children on the death of his wife. These inscriptions are chiefly found on stone slabs which formed part of cisterns, erected in memory of deceased relatives. Such cisterns, called *panihar* and *nahun*, are very common in the Ravi and Chandrabhaga Valleys and the largest are in Pangi and Padar. The inscribed stones seem to exist only in Chamba.

The distribution of the Rana and Thakur families, at the present day, is probably a fairly correct index of the localities where their ancestors resided in former times; though the number now is greatly reduced, as compared with the period when they ranked as "barons of the hills." In Kangra most of the old families appear to be Ranas; but if their ancestors ever held independent power, it must have been at a remote period, as Kangra State was founded some centuries before the Christian era. Mr. Barnes has the following remarks about them:—"Another class of Rajputs who enjoy great distinction in the hills are the descendants of ancient petty Chiefs or *Ranas*, whose title and tenure is said to have preceded even that of the Rajas themselves. These petty Chiefs have long since been dispossessed, and their holdings absorbed in the larger principalities, still the name of Rana is retained, and their alliance is eagerly desired by the Mians."¹ In Kulu there seem to have been few Ranas: most of the old families having been Thakurs, as they are at the present time; and this is also true of

¹ *Kangra Settlement Report*, page 39, paragraph 269.

Mandi and Suket. Passing now to Chamba we find very few Thakur families: most of the old petty Chiefs having been Ranas. In the Chandrabhaga Valley—as the Chinab is called in the hills—British-Lahul is largely held in *jagir* by families of Tibetan origin, now bearing the title of Thakur. Their original title was “Jo,” and the title of Thakur was conferred when they came under the sway of Kulu, in the seventeenth century. The Thakurs are confined to the valleys of the Chandra and the Bhaga; and from the junction of these rivers in British-Lahul, down to Pangi and Padar, Rana traditions predominate. In the middle Chandrabhaga Valley, on the other hand, from Padar to the outer hills, the title of Rana is little known, and most of the families who formerly held power seem to have been Thakurs. They are several times referred to in the *Rajatarangini*, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and two of them befriended Bhikshachara, grandson of King Harsha, in his attempt to recover the throne of Kashmir, which had been usurped by the Lohara princes. But while Thakurs ruled the main valley, the smaller valleys of Bhadrawah and Balesa, adjoining Chamba to the west, were under the control of Ranas. Again, in the outer hills nearer the plains, between the Ravi and the Jehlam, local tradition points to the presence of both Ranas and Thakurs: thus the Thakkuras of Lohara are several times mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*, in the latter part of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries.¹ As regards the country between the Jehlam and the Indus, we have no reliable information about its condition in ancient times, but there, too, tradition tells of “powerful Ranas,” who ruled long ago; and we may safely assume that, down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest, its political condition did not materially differ from that of the rest of the hills. In the Satluj Valley also; it is worthy of note, that of the Simla Hill States—20 in number and called collectively “the Thakuraian,”—the rulers of all but four bear the ancient title of Rana or Thākur; and of the larger States one ruler,¹—the Raja of Keonthal,—formerly a Rana, received the title of Raja in 1857 from Government, and more recently the Rana of Jubbal has also been so honoured. Our information regarding the area between the Satluj and the Jamna is incomplete, but further inquiry will probably show that there too, if not throughout the entire Himalaya, traditions exist similar to those of the Western Hills.

¹ *Rajatarangini*. Trans., Stein, VII, v; 706, 775-9-80.

In Kashmir the titles of Rajanaka and Thakkura were in use in the eleventh and subsequent centuries to indicate a feudal baron : but there are no traditions pointing to the country ever having been under the rule of these petty Chiefs. Even if this primitive political order ever did exist in Kashmir, it must have been at a very remote period ; for that kingdom, like Trigarta, was founded centuries before the Christian era. The conversion of the bulk of the population to Islam must, however, have had a tendency to destroy all traditions of early Hindu rule. The feudal barons in Kashmir, corresponding to the Ranas and Thakurs in other parts of the hills, bore the title of *Damara*, and they belonged chiefly to a class called Lavanya, who were agriculturists, and may therefore have held much the same social rank as Thakurs, Rathis and similar agricultural castes elsewhere in the hills. Sir Aurel Stein's account leads us to infer that they were lower in rank than the Rajputs. The first notice we have of the Damaras in the *Rajatarangini* is in the reign of Raja Lalitaditya, A.D. 700 ; and they were then hereditary landholders, of whose growing influence the king entertained well grounded suspicions.¹ Their power went on increasing during the next three centuries, but did not reach its fullest development till the accession of the Lohara dynasty in A.D. 1003. The true origin and signification of the title is more or less uncertain, but it doubtless meant a "feudal landowner" or "baron" and was thus synonymous with Rajanaka and Thakkura. It continued in use, chiefly as a courtesy title, down to the period of the Mughal conquest, and has not been traced outside Kashmir. As regards the conditions under which the Damaras acquired and held their lands, Sir Aurel Stein concludes that it was in return for military service, a kind of tenure common in other parts of the hills. All the Jagirdars in Chamba, and probably the other States as well, hold their lands on this tenure, and the same was true of the Ranas. As feudal barons they were under obligation to accompany their liege lord, the Raja, on his military expeditions ; and on the fountain slabs they are depicted as knights on horseback, armed with sword and shield. In this relationship we see a close analogy to the feudal system of Mediæval Europe.

Traditions of the *Apthakurai*² period are common throughout the hills, and many traces still exist of the old order

¹ *Rajatarangini*. Trans., Stein, IV, v, 348.

² *Apthākurai*=independent rule.

of things. In almost every locality the people can point to the site of the Rana's or Thakur's fort or relate stories of their exploits, and in some cases even define the boundaries of their territories. According to Sir J. B. Lyall, many of the existing *kothis* and *tappas* in Kulu are said to have preserved their present limits from the time, when each of them formed the domain of a Thakur.¹ This is also probably true of some of the *parganas* of Chamba, though that country seems to have been more minutely sub-divided than in the case of Kulu. In former times, however, the *parganas* were more numerous than now, and may then have shown a nearer approach to the boundaries of the ancient domains.² In many parts of the hills the ruins of the local Rana's fort are still visible, and in some instances the ancient buildings are, or till recently were, in actual use.

In Chamba, Kangra and Kulu, as well as other parts of the hills, there are many cases in which the descendants of the Ranas and Thakurs retain possession of the whole, or a part of the family domain and bear the ancient title, while many more, who have sunk to the position of common farmers, are still spoken of and addressed as Rana or Thakur.

The baronies owned by these petty Chiefs were always of small extent, and can have possessed few of the elements of stability or permanence. As Sir J. B. Lyall remarks: "Without a lord paramount and with no bond of confederacy, such diminutive states could never have existed side by side in such lawless days for any length of time. It is pretty certain, therefore, that with short intervals of complete independence in periods of confusion, they must have been more or less subject and tributary to some superior power."¹ This opinion had primary reference to Kulu, but it is probably true of the whole of the Western Hills.

We know from literary sources that the kingdoms of Kashmir, Trigarta and Kuluta existed and were ruled by Rajas, in the earliest period of which we have any cognizance. At the same time it is possible, and even probable, that the remote and inaccessible valleys continued under the sway of Ranas and Thakurs who enjoyed practical independence. This conclusion is supported by common tradition, and by the negative evidence of the slab inscriptions. The duration of the *Aphakurai* period is a matter of doubt, but of this

¹ *Kangra Settlement Report*, page 74, paragraph 70.

² There were still 72 *parganas* in Chamba in 1846, but only 50 now.

we are certain, that it came to an end sooner in some parts of the hills than in others. It was followed by the rise of numerous Rajput principalities, which held dominion down to comparatively recent times, and some of which still exist. These were all founded by Rajput adventurers, who either came direct from the plains, or were cadets of one or other of the noble families which had already established themselves in the hills. By them the Ranas and Thakurs were reduced to the position of tributaries. Their subjection, however, seems to have been little more than nominal—the petty Chiefs simply agreeing to acknowledge the supremacy of the local Raja, while they continued as before to rule their own baronies, wage war on one another, and generally act as if they were quite independent. Common tradition, as well as the evidence of the *Vansavalis* and some of the slab inscriptions, all point to this conclusion, and it was not for centuries that the Rajas were able to establish anything like a real superiority over them.

The Kulu State was founded in the early centuries of the Christian era, and for ages afterwards we read of continuous strife between its rulers and the Ranas and Thakurs; and Mandi and Suket, which are of later origin, have much the same history. The Ranas of the Upper Ravi Valley must have been subdued at an early period, for the Chamba State dates from the sixth century; but it was not till the early part of the tenth century, that the lower Ravi Valley was conquered and the capital changed. The Ranas of Churah, the northern province of the State, seem originally to have been tributary to Vallapura or Balor (Basohli); and the supremacy changed hands several times in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but finally remained with Chamba. In the Chandra-bhaga Valley, the Thakurs and Ranas of Lahul were in ancient times subject to Ladakh, but in the tenth or eleventh century the Ranas of the main valley came under Chamba, and some centuries later Upper Lahul was conquered by Kulu. An inscription at Luj in Pangti informs us that in A.D. 1105 the valley was under the control of Raja Jasata-Varman of Chamba, but the Ranas probably were not removed from power till a much later period, possibly as late as A.D. 1640. In Padar the Ranas were subject to Chamba from about the twelfth century, but they retained their authority till the reign of Raja Chatar-Singh, A.D. 1664-90.¹ In the middle Chandra-bhaga Valley, the Thakurs must have ruled till the tenth

¹ *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 94.

century, when Kashtwar State was founded, and some of the smaller districts were not annexed to the State till much later. In Bhadrawah and Balesa the Ranas were in possession, probably under the suzerainty of Chamba, till the early part of the sixteenth century. The Ranas and Thakurs of the outer hills—between the Jehlam and the Ravi—most likely lost their power at different periods, as the various Hill States were founded, some—as Rajauri, Punch, Jaminu and Balor—in a remote antiquity, and others as late probably as the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Of the area between the Jehlam and the Indus, now forming the Hazara District, we have no certain information. In very remote times it formed, as we know, the kingdom of Urasha, which is several times mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*, and was for centuries subject to Kashmir. It is believed to have been founded before the Christian era, and very little is known about its history, but there are said to be traces here and there of ancient villages and forts, and also legends of powerful Ranas, as evidence of Hindu domination.¹ In Kangra, too, as we have already seen, there are many Rana families, whose title and tenure preceded that of the Rajas. Again, the Simla Hill States are mostly of ancient origin—the oldest of them being probably Bashahr—and, like the other States, they were founded by adventurers from the plains, or cadets of the older States; but in all likelihood the country was previously ruled by Ranas and Thakurs—a condition which probably prevailed throughout the entire Himalaya.

We must not, however, suppose that any of these States acquired its full territorial limits all at once. On the contrary, the records clearly show, that the early Rajas possessed little more than a footing in the country, and centuries of continuous warfare were required to consolidate their power. Chamba, for example, owned only the Brahmaur *pargana* of the State for several hundred years. Kashtwar was practically confined originally to the small plain on which the capital stands, while Kulu held only the territory around Jagat-sukh. It was doubtless much the same with all the other States. The result was, that the petty Chiefs were not disposed to submit readily to an overlord, whose territory was not much larger than their own, and who was a foreigner among them. In almost every instance, as we shall see, they combined against him and made determined efforts to expel him from the hills.

¹ *Hazara Gazetteer*, page 121.

After their subjection the Ranas and Thakurs ranked as feudal barons under the Rajas, and the copper-plate deeds of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, in Chamba, clearly prove that they held a prominent position in the administration. In the order of precedence the Ranas are mentioned after the Raja and at the head of all the State officials. During the reign of Raja Soma-Varman, A.D. 1060-80, two Ranas, named Ribila and Kahila, filled, respectively, the important offices of Prime Minister and Great Record-keeper. It thus appears that, like their contemporaneous princes in Europe, the Rajas sought to attach the feudal barons to their Court, and from turbulent chieftains to convert them into assiduous officials.

The inscriptions which throw light upon the private and public relations of these ancient barons belong chiefly to the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹ In the Baijnath Eulogies (A.D. 1204), we read of a baronial house which ruled at Kiragrama, the modern Baijnath in Kangra, for eight generations, and owed allegiance to the Rajas of Trigarta. Their importance may be estimated from the fact that the mother of Lakshmana-Chandra, the Rana of the time, was a daughter of Hridaya-Chandra of Trigarta. The inscription, however, does not say if her mother was a *rani*. It is certainly opposed to prevailing usage, that the head of the illustrious house of Trigarta should give a daughter in marriage to one of his vassals. How punctilious the Katoches were in matrimonial affairs, even in the expiring days of their rule, is shown by the example of Anirudh-Chand, the last ruling Chief of Kangra, who abandoned his State and everything rather than acquiesce in a marriage alliance which he considered below the dignity of his house.

Referring to the above named Rana the Baijnath Eulogy says: "Even now exist such wonderful men, filled with devotion to Iswara, like that store of marvellous virtue, the Rajanaka, named Lakshmana-Chandra, who after performing a pilgrimage to Kedara, that cleanses from all sin, made even this vow, 'Henceforth shall all wives of others be sisters to me.' What wonder is it that in battle he was secure from the assaults of warriors of irresistible bravery, since he, a Cupid at the head of the bowmen, was not able to be subdued even by that (deity). At present, rulers whose commands are disregarded by their opponents, because they

¹ *Antiquities of Chamba State*, page 110.

deem them to be of small prowess, consider the sovereignty over a town as yielding its legitimate results, only by the rape of the wives of its inhabitants. Fresh youth, beautiful form, liberality, sovereignty over a town, many flatterers—all these are his; if nevertheless his heart eschews the wives of others, what austerity is difficult for him to perform after that?" Bühler¹ rightly remarks that the picture of the morals of the time, which these verses unfold, is certainly not a flattering one. The Chamba inscriptions convey a more favourable impression of the ancient Chiefs. No doubt, like the knights of Mediæval Europe, they too regarded love and war as the great aims of life, but their love was often the devotion of the husband, and their warlike spirit was not rarely displayed in loyal service to their liege lord. Of the conjugal devotion of these warlike barons we have ample proof in the quaint fountain-slabs which they set up for the sake of the future bliss of their deceased wives, and we find it expressed even more clearly in the solemn Sanskrit of those eulogies, where, hidden under the weight of rhetorical ornament, we still feel the pulsations of true love. Would it be just to cast on the hero of the Sarahan eulogy the reproach, that his love of the beauteous Somaprabha was inspired merely by her fair form, the beauty of which is sung in such glowing measures in that love-song carved in stone. Did he not prove its sincerity when, to establish a firm friendship between her and the mountain goddess (Parvati), he built a temple to the moon-crowned (Siva).

In the half-obliterated lines of the Mulkihar stone, we still read of the tears shed by the chieftain of that place and his children, when "hostile fate separated her, his best beloved, seated on his lap, the delight of his eyes and the adored of all mankind, from her husband, even as the passing of the *parvan* separates the moon-sickle from the hot-rayed sun."

The no less sadly damaged eulogy of Devi-Kothi speaks of yet another love, that of a noble lady who, at her husband's death, being ready to follow him on the pyre, was kept back by her two sons, and who "henceforth, whilst by rigid vows of constant fasts she reduced her body to meagreness, brought up her sons and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor, and her devotion to Krishna." "And at every step,

¹ The Baijnath Eulogies have been edited by Dr. G. Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, volume 1, pages 97—118. A Jain inscription dated in the (Vikrama) year 1296, corresponding to A.D. 1240, was noticed by Dr. Bühler in the Baijnath temple (*Epigraphia Indica*, volume I, pages 118-f).

conceiving the world of the living to be unstable, like the crescent reflected in a garland of waves, restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze, she caused a cistern to be made for the sake of the bliss of her lord."

We know of no Indian inscriptions in which true human sentiment finds such eloquent expression as in these two, alas, irreparably mutilated fountain slabs; nor would it be easy to point to another group of epigraphical records, in which the feminine element is so prominent as in those of Chamba.¹

In their relations with one another the Ranas appear in a less favourable light. By each of them his neighbours seem to have been regarded as natural enemies, with whom the only possible relationship was one of mortal feud. When not opposing a common foe they were engaged in oppressing and despoiling one another, and in the traditions of the hillmen they are associated only with dissension and strife. Numerous incidents of those stirring times have been handed down by local tradition, and are treasured in the folklore of the people, one or two of which are worth recording. In Loh-Tikri *pargana* there resided two Ranas at the neighbouring villages of Bahnota and Siya, who were continually at feud with each other. At length the less powerful, becoming weary of the harassing treatment to which he was subjected, entered into a compact with a third Rana, who promised to come to his help on hearing the alarm horn. Soon afterwards the signal was heard, and the new ally hastened to the spot, to find that the horn had been sounded only to test his fidelity. A second time the summons was responded to with the same result, but when heard a third time at a season of real need, the signal was disregarded; and the weaker Rana had to submit to any humiliation his powerful neighbour chose to inflict on him. The same story is told in other parts of the hills. Again, two Ranas resided at the villages of Saun and Rathair, about five miles from Chamba, who as usual were at feud with each other. One of them, having occasion to go to Chamba for a supply of salt, was returning with a big lump on his head, when he was met by the other Rana armed with a sword. High words ensued between them, and the Rana with the sword aimed a blow at the other which missed. The other Rana then dashed the lump of salt in his opponent's face, killing him on the spot.

¹ *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pages 111-2.

Common tradition abounds in such incidents, which must have been of frequent occurrence long after the Ranas became tributary.

The title of Rajanaka was originally borne only by the ancient barons of the hills, but in later times the Rajas of Kashmir, Trigarta, Chamba, and probably other States, were in the habit of conferring it on some of their officers as an honorary distinction. Thus we read that Queen Didda of Kashmir (A.D. 980—1003), "called her favourite, Naravahana, into the council of ministers and conferred on him the title of Rajanaka."¹ This practice had apparently become so common that in Kalhana's days the term was regarded as almost synonymous with "minister," as is evident from the following passage referring to King Parvagupta: "Displaying a conduct in which the royal dignity was combined with the functions of a minister, he created the mingled impression of Raja and Rajanaka." The high officials on whom the title of Rajanaka was conferred were often Brahmans, and thus the word has survived in Kashmir in the form of Razdan as a Brahmanical family name. It is curious that, in the later Kashmir chronicles, the same title is used to designate Muhammadan officers of rank. This accounts for the use of the word *Ran* in Kashmir as a Muhammadan *Kram* name, which, as Sir Aurel Stein observes, corresponds exactly to Razdan as a family name of Brahmans. His remarks on the subject are as follows:—

"The title of Rajanaka meaning 'almost a King' used to be given for service rendered to the King. The title has survived in the form *Razdan*, as a family name of very frequent occurrence among the Brahmans of Kashmir. It was borne by Rajanaka Ratnakara, the author of the '*Haravijaya*' (ninth century), and by many Kashmirian authors of note enumerated in the *Vamsaprasasti*, which Ananda Rajanaka (seventeenth century) has appended to his commentary on the *Naisadhacarita*. As the designation of certain high officers (Muhammadan) the term *Rajanaka* is often used by Srivara and in the Fourth Chronicle. The title was also known in Trigarta or Kangra."²

On a slab inscription lately found in Chamba a specific instance is afforded, in which the title of Rajanaka was conferred by Raja Lalita-Varman (A.D. 1148—70), on a landholder,

¹ *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VI, v. 261:

² *Ibid.*, v. 117, and footnote.

named Naga-Pala, who lived at Devi-Kothi in Churah. This use of the title probably came into vogue after the Rajput conquest of the hills. A tradition exists in the families of the three principal Ranas in the Upper Ravi Valley—Ulansa, Gurola, and Suai—that their common ancestor came from Kulu¹ with Raja Mushan-Varman, about A.D. 820-40, and received his title, along with a *jagir*, for services rendered on that occasion. It may be noted, that during Mughal rule the title of Raja was conferred as a personal distinction, and the same usage prevails under our own rule. Of the Ranas in the hills at the present time, it is impossible to say how many are descended from such titular Ranas and how many from the early rulers, but many of them are unquestionably of very ancient lineage. Few now hold estates or exercise any authority—most of them being common farmers—but it is probable that in almost every instance their holdings are a part of the old family domain.✓

The title of Thakkura was also conferred as an honorary distinction, in the same way as that of Rajanaka. Of this we have a specific example in the *Rajatarangini* in the reign of Raja Kalasa (A.D. 1083-89), where we are told that a favourite, named Chamaka, was raised to the rank of councillor "and received the title of Thakkura."² Even the title of Damara was used in the same way, especially in Muhammadan times.

We have now to trace the later history of those ancient "barons of the hills." The references to the Ranas and Thakurs, on the old copper-plate grants and slab inscriptions of Chamba, and in the records of other States, prove that down to the twelfth century and even later, they had lost nothing of their ancient prestige. Till then, indeed, it seems to have been the policy of some of the Rajas to retain their allegiance by appointing them to high offices at the Court and in the administration. The last Chamba copper-plate deed, in which the Ranas are mentioned, is that of Raja Asata-Varman, A.D. 1080-1100. After this there is a long break in the continuity of our records, probably owing to several plates having been lost. The next plate extant is that of Raja Bhot-Varman, dated A.D. 1330, and in it all references to the Ranas have ceased. There is reason to believe that from the thirteenth century the

¹ Cf. *Chamba State Gazetteer*, page 72.

² *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VII, v. 290.

petty Chiefs all through the hills began to decline in influence, and to lapse into the condition of obscurity in which we now find them. The question arises as to what were the causes which brought about their downfall, and the later history of the Damaras of Kashmir, as we find it in the *Rajatarangini*, may perhaps suggest the answer. Sir Aurel Stein tells us that in the eleventh century the Damaras, during a long succession of weak reigns, had acquired so much political power that they had become a menace to the ruling house. King Harsha (A.D. 1081-1101), therefore, determined on their destruction and many of them were massacred. This procedure, however, entirely failed of its object, and only resulted in a successful revolt which cost Harsha his throne and his life. Sir Aurel Stein adds that "the reigns which followed this revolution represent an almost uninterrupted series of struggles between the central authorities and the Damaras, or between various factions of the latter themselves."¹ Down to the time of Kalhana the Damaras were still powerful, but there are few references to them in the later chronicles, and there can be little doubt that the struggle finally resulted in the complete suppression of these turbulent barons.

There is hardly a State in the Western Hills in which traditions are not found of a similar conflict between the feudal Chiefs and their overlords—the Rajas; forcibly reminding us of the long struggle of the monarchs of Mediæval Europe with their powerful barons. For a long time after their subjection the Ranas and Thakurs were impatient of control, and tenaciously clung to the hope of regaining complete independence. In several of the Hill States they combined against the Raja and made a determined effort to drive him out. Such an attempt was made in Kashtwar in the thirteenth century; and the Raja had to flee from his capital and seek an asylum in the neighbouring mountains, where he remained for more than a year before it became possible to recover the State. In Bhadrawah, too, tradition tells of a powerful coalition against the Raja as late as the sixteenth century, and a battle in which the Ranas were defeated. From the Kulu records we learn that the strife between the Rajas and the Thakurs went on for many centuries, till finally the latter were subdued by Raja Bahadur Singh about the middle of the sixteenth century. The history of Suket and Mandi is similar to that of Kulu.

¹ *Rajatarangini*, Stein, Volume, II, page 304 et seq.

Obscure traditions of a similar struggle also exist in Chamba, and it seems probable that there too the Ranas became a source of danger, and security was assured only by their complete subjection. That they were almost independent of the central authority may be inferred from local tradition and the wording of the slab inscriptions. Many significant incidents, which confirm this inference, have been handed down to our time; one of which is worth recording. Before the conquest of the Lower Ravi Valley by Raja Sahila-Varman (A.D. 920-40), the country around the present capital was in the possession of a Rana whose fort stood on Bannu Hill, overlooking the town, where its ruins may still be seen. From this Rana, or one of his successors, tribute was demanded and persistently refused. On being summoned to the presence of the Raja, the Rana is said to have laid aside his insolent demeanour and to have meekly promised compliance, but on returning to the other side of the Sal stream, separating the town from Bannu Hill, he became as obdurate as ever. The conclusion was arrived at, in explanation of this conduct, that it was due to the influence of the soil. To test the truth of this, a lump of earth was procured from Bannu Hill and spread on the floor of the audience chamber, with a carpet over it, and the Rana was then called to an interview. On arrival he was invited to take his seat on the carpet as usual, but when the question of tribute was mooted, he sprang to his feet, drew his sword, demanding at the same time to know who had a right to ask tribute of him. The result doubtless was his subjection, or expulsion from his barony, and removal to some other place where the soil did not exert so baneful an influence.¹ Traditions similar to this are also found in Kulu and other parts of the hills, and are significant of the tension which existed between the petty chiefs and their suzerains. That this tension resulted in open strife and the complete subjection or expulsion of the Ranas and Thakurs, seems only too probable, and

¹ The Rana in question may possibly be identified with a Rana Rihila and his Rani Bahila whose names have been handed down by tradition in the following rhyme:—

Rihila Rana : Bahila Rani

Bannu Kot : Sarol pani

Badram janjan khani.

(Rihila Rana and Bahila Rani had their fort on Bannu and their water-supply from Sarol and their rice from Badram).

Sarol and Badram are the names of two places near Chamba, famous, respectively, for a cool spring and the quality of the rice. The last Bannu Rana was treacherously killed by the Rana of Buje, probably at the instigation of the Raja of Chamba.

to this we may attribute the fact, that at the present time few of them have anything but their title to prove their ancient lineage and the former position of their families.

Mr. G. C. L. Howell, late Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, has kindly allowed us to use the translation of an old document, which throws a lurid light on the means made use of by some of the Rajas to establish their authority over the petty Chiefs.

It is dated in the reign of Raja Bahadur-Singh of Kulu, A.D. 1527-1559, and is in the possession of the lineal descendant of the Thakur, named Hathi, who figures in the document. The translation is as follows:—

“By the favour of Sri Maha Sri Ragunath Ji—Makarsa is the kingdom of Sri Ragunath Ji, and he has given it to Sri Maharaja Bahadur-Singh. It is the possession of Maharaja Bahadur-Singh.”

“The Ladhiyara Thakur Hathi.....
Then above Churwadhi, he (Hathi) seized the chiefship (*thakuri*) of Manimuas and killed the Thakur. He then captured the Thakur of Kot-Kandi, and bringing him presented him to Bahadur-Singh and then seized Kot-Kandi. He brought Bahadur-Singh by the back way to Ladhiyara. Then he killed the Thakur of Balahan and seized his barony. Bahadur-Singh was living at Ladhiyara. He sent Hathi to seize Sainsar—he (Hathi) occupied Sainsar and laid it waste. Then he seized the whole of Rupī and presented it to Bahadur-Singh. Then Bahadur-Singh greatly extended his kingdom. The baronies (*thakurian*) of Siraj remained to be conquered and he (Bahadur-Singh) ordered other officers to go. They replied ‘We cannot go.’ Then Bahadur-Singh said to Hathi, ‘Without you the *thakurian* of Siraj will not be conquered.’ Bahadur-Singh remained at Ladhiyara and sent his army with Hathi, appointing him commander. Then Hathi went to Shangar and took it. He also captured Tung, Nalodh, Chaban and Tund and called the last place Bahadurpur and built a fort. Then Hathi returned and came to Banog and captured Anand the Siraj Thakur and also Banog, and seized all the Siraj Thakurs. He seized Siraj and Rupī, laying them waste, and presented them to Bahadur-Singh. Then Bahadur-Singh, having enlarged his kingdom, made great rejoicings and killed goats.

Hathi gave the *dub* grass¹ to the Raja and the Raja gave a bracelet to Hathi and bound it on his arm. The Raja also gave Hathi the whole of Ladhiyara—72 *kharwār* of land and 360 *kharwār* in *sasan*—to be enjoyed in perpetuity. He also had it recorded in the court that Hathi should enjoy the *kharwar* and *sasan*, as a reward for subduing the Thakurs, and that his descendants should also enjoy them. Then the Raja made Hathi his Wazir on account of his brave deeds. Hathi then said (to the Raja) that there were many cultivators (*Hali*) living on the land, and he requested that the Raja should give them to him as slaves, and they also were given in perpetuity. The Raja also gave orders, that the Wazir of Rupī and the officials of Balahan were not to give trouble when Hathi was absent on military expeditions—given Sambat 90=15th Baisakh.” The date of this document is probably s. 9=A.D. 15th Baisakh 1533. Raja Bahadur-Singh is said to have reigned for 32 years, and as he died in A.D. 1559 this would make A.D. 1527 the year of his accession. Mr. Howell has some doubts as to the genuineness of the document, but he adds—“I am quite sure that it accurately represents the history of the conquest of Lower Siraj.”

For some time before their final subjection, the Thakurs of Kulu seem to have been quite independent. The relations existing between the Rajas and their vassal chiefs were probably much the same in Kulu as in other parts of the hills. Compelled to submit to superior authority under a strong ruler, they took advantage of every opportunity to throw off the yoke, when the hold on them was for any reason relaxed. This condition of alternating independence and subjection may have recurred many times in Kulu, and the Chiefs seem to have been practically free of all control for some time previous to the rise of the Badani dynasty under Raja Sidh-Singh (A.D. 1500). Some of them were subdued by him and the rest by his son, Raja Bahadur-Singh (A.D. 1527=59).

The disunion and strife among the petty Chiefs must also have afforded a favourable opportunity to the local Raja to turn their quarrels to his own advantage, and traditions pointing to this are common. For example, at Salhi in the Sechu Nala in Pangī a Rana family had long been in possession, as is evident from an inscription on a fountain slab dated in the reign of Raja Lalita-Varman of Chamba (A.D.

¹*Dub*, a special kind of grass, of which a few blades are presented on happy occasions, among Hindus, in token of congratulation.

1141-70). The last ruling Rana, named Bhag Rana, was a man of strong personality, who was feared by the other Ranas. Incited probably by emissaries from Chamba, several of them formed a plot against him, and bribed a Brahman, named Sili, residing in Sach, with whom he was intimate, to assassinate him. The Rana was invited to Sili's house, which is still shown, and while serving dinner his wife mortally wounded her guest with a dagger, which she held in her hand. The Rana started for his home with the dagger still in the wound, but only got the length of Helaor, half way, where his wife met him. As he rested on a flat stone which is still shown, she extracted the dagger, and he then drank water and almost immediately expired. His domain was then annexed by the Raja, but his descendants still reside at Salhi as common peasants. Near their home is the carved and inscribed slab already referred to, and when, some years ago, the stone was thrown down by an avalanche, the head of the family had it re-erected, as being the embodiment of the departed glory of his family.

Again at Segā, in the Hundān Nālā in Pangī, lived a Rana who also had made enemies by his overbearing disposition, but no one dared to attack him as he always went about fully armed. Only on one day in the year was his armour laid aside, when he went to do *pūja* at the Nagani spring near his home. Taking advantage of this, the Rana of Kilar concealed himself near the place, and springing upon him stabbed him to death. The Segā family is now extinct, but the Kilar Ranas still exist as common farmers. Another tradition tells of a long-standing feud between the Ranas of Ashdārī and Luj in the Chandrabhaga Valley, in which the Luj family was almost exterminated, only one boy being left. On hearing that this boy still remained, the Ashdārī Rana came one day to find and kill him. The boy was herding cattle on the roadside and had a bow and arrow in his hand. Not recognizing him, the Rana stopped and spoke to him, and the boy taking advantage of an opportunity shot an arrow and killed him. Ranas still live at both of the above-named places, but they have long since lost their family possessions and are now only peasants. There are said to have been Ranas in former times at the following places in Pangī:—Luj, Kilar, Segā, Karyūnī, Phindrū, Kāmāur, Salhī, Udīn, Sanār, Phīnfār, Shīn, Shālāl, Thānāl, Ajog, Shor, and at Tīndī, Salgraon, Margraon, Triloknath, Lota and Gus in Lahul; but at the present day Ranas are

found only at Luj, Kilar, Salhi, Sanar, Shor, Margraon and Triloknath.

In Padar, Ranas formerly resided at Ashdari, Sol, Tiari, Atholi, Tata-Pani, Hunsar, Jhar, Luindi, Garh and Masu, but only the families at Ashdari, Sol and Luindi are now extant.

In the Ravi Valley the Ranas were more numerous, and in every *pargana* several sites are identified by tradition as having been their places of residence. In many instances common tradition is corroborated by the presence of carved and inscribed slabs, which were erected by the petty Chiefs at fountains, in memory of their deceased relatives. The Ranas, of whom such records are found, resided in the following *parganas*:—Sai, Behra, Tisa, Lohtikri, Himgari, Kihar, Lilh and Basu, but in addition to these, carved stones without inscriptions, mostly the work of Ranas, exist in almost every *pargana* of the State. At the present time there are at least 20 or 30 Rana families in Chamba, living in the following *parganas*:—Brahmaur, Ranhun-Kothi, Piyur, Sambra, Panjila, Rajnagar, Dhund, Lohtikri, Behra, Sai, Himgari in the Ravi Valley; and in Dharwas, Kilar, Sach and Lahul in the Chandrabhaga Valley.

Most of these families now occupy the position of common agriculturists, in no way different from the agricultural community of which they form a part, but that they are lineally descended from the old barons of the hills is hardly open to doubt. There also exist, however, in Chamba a few Ranas who are such in the original sense of the word, and retain the position of the Rajanaka of the inscriptions. Chief among them is the Rana of Triloknath, whose barony comprises the greater part of Chamba-Lahul, where the family has been in possession from time immemorial. The ancestor is said to have come from Jammu and settled in Tundah in Brahmaur, and the family afterwards crossed the Pangi Range to Tundeh or Triloknath, before the idol at that place was set up. One of the Rana's ancestors, named Hamir Bardhaim, whose praise is sung in the local dialect, is said to have defeated a Raja of Kulu who attempted to carry off the idol, but he was afterwards killed at a feast, to join in which he had laid aside his armour. The Rana acts as manager of the Triloknath shrine, appoints the *lama* or Buddhist priest, and receives the offerings. He also takes the

NOTE.—At Sanar in the Tuan Nala the stone circle is shown where the Rana received his share of grain after each harvest,

leading part in the annual *mela* in the month of Sawan, when bloody rites of an aboriginal character are intermingled with the worship of Triloknath. The Rana ranks as a Jagirdar and his eldest son is addressed as *Tika*.¹

The Ranas next in importance reside at Ulanza and Suai in Brahmaur *pargana*. Till 1912 a third Rana belonging to the same family lived at Gurola, but on his demise without male issue his *jagir* lapsed to the State. Tradition says that these three baronies were originally one fief. granted to the common ancestor, the first Rana of Ulanza, by Raja Mushan-Varman (A.D. 820). These Ranas are under obligation to render military service, in accordance with feudal law and till recently had each to maintain a horse for this purpose. This latter obligation was commuted into a money payment by Raja Sham-Singh (1873-1904), of Rs. 100 annually for Ulanza and Rs. 70 for Suai. An ancestor of the Rana of Ulanza fell at the battle of Nerti in Kangra, with his lord superior, Raja Raj-Singh (A.D. 1794).

There was also formerly a barony of Ranhun-Kothi adjoining Ulanza, which like Gurola lapsed to the State and is now a *pargana*. Thus we see that even the few baronies that still exist are gradually disappearing, and as no new Ranas are now created, there is a likelihood that in Chamba also the ruling Ranas will finally merge into the agricultural population, as has already happened in the neighbouring Kangra Valley. There are also two other Ranas in Chamba who hold small *jagirs*, one of whom is the Rana of Sambra. His ancestor is said to have come from Kanhiyara in Kangra, and for some generations the family were hereditary keepers of Prithvijor Fort in Churah. A branch of this family lives at Geyra in Pivur *pargana*. The Rana of Margraon, whose family is an off-shoot of that of Triloknath, holds a small *jagir* in his own village.

There are very few Thakur families in Chamba, only two being known, who reside, respectively, in the Behra and Kilar *parganas*.

All the Rana and Thakur families in Chamba who are Jagirdars, enjoy immunity from State service, but are under obligation to attend on the Raja whenever ancient custom requires them to do so. In accordance with the terms of their title-deeds the Jagirdars, including the Ranas who are such, are under obligation for service in the Raja's

¹ *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 171.

body-guard, providing their own horses, but in recent years the privilege has been granted them of paying a cess, called *ghoriana*, in lieu of which the State supplies a horse when required for duty. When any of the ruling Ranas dies, his heir has to come to Chamba to obtain a charter (*patta*) from the Raja, and in the case of the Triloknath Rana a small robe of honour (*khilat*) is given on such occasions. On the accession of a Raja, the Rana of Triloknath comes to Chamba to tender his allegiance in person, and to present as tribute a number of Lahuli hill ponies.

The title of Rana, like that of Thakur, is now a caste name, and probably has been so from early times. As already noted, another and possibly the original form of the caste name was Ranaputra=Ranautra, as found in an inscription, and analogous to Rajaputra=Rajput. It may fairly be questioned which of these titles is the more ancient.

The social status of the Ranas of Chamba, both feudal and agricultural, can be best estimated by their relations to other castes in matrimonial matters. It may be summarized as follows:—The Mian Rajputs, especially the smaller ones, take brides from the feudal Ranas. The latter in their turn intermarry with their own kind, but also take girls in marriage from the Thakurs and the Rathis. The non-feudal, or agricultural Ranas, intermarry either with their caste fellows, or with the Thakurs and the Rathis.

The Thakurs marry within their own caste, or with Rathis and other similar castes, such as the Kanets in Kulu.

We are indebted to the Rev. A. H. Francke of the Moravian Mission for the following note on the Ranas of British Lahul:—"In the Tibetan writings I have met the word only once, namely, in the Tinan Chronicle discovered by Miss J. E. Duncan in 1907. There the ancestor of the princes of Tinan, who came from Leagsmkhar (Iron castle) in Gugé, is called Rana Pala. Pala is certainly a hinduized form of the common Tibetan name *dpal*. The family obtained the title *Rana* either from the Raja of Kulu or from Chamba. Popular tradition asserts that at one time the Raja of Chamba ruled a considerable portion of Lahul. Perhaps the fountain slabs of Lahul date back to that period. The tradition of Gus refers back to the days when a Rana dependent on Chamba resided at that place. It is even said that there existed a copper-plate, issued by a Chamba Raja, which was

carried off by the Raja of Kulu (possibly Bidhi-Singh or Man-Singh) at the conquest of Lahul. The fountain of Gus is entirely enclosed in ancient stone slabs. There are also traditions which relate to the Ranas of Gus, and descendants of these Ranas live at Gus down to the present day, where they form a father and brother (*pha-spun*) hood, which perhaps corresponds to the castes in India."

The principal Rana families in Kangra are:—Chari, Gharoh, Kanhiara, Pathyar, Habrol, Sambar, Dhatwal and others, but of their family histories we have so far been able to ascertain only a few particulars. The Ranas of Kanhiara claim descent from the royal family of Suket. When Mushan-Varman of Chamba, A.D. 800, returned from Suket to recover his kingdom from the Kira invaders, he was accompanied by the Duthain or second son of the Suket Raja; Mushan-Varman being then only 10 or 12 years old.¹ After driving out the invaders the Duthain was requested to remain in Brahmaur to protect the Raja and probably act as Regent, and was also addressed as *Raja*. This title continued in the family for three generations, and was then changed to "Rana," and the family *jagir* seems to have been in the Chanota *pargana*.

After several generations Rana Ratan-Sen, the then head of the family, left Chanota and crossing the Dhaula-Dhar settled at Kanhiara, which was then a part of the Chamba State. His residence was at a higher level than Kangra, and at night the light of the Kanhiara Fort could be seen from the royal palace at Kangra. This annoyed the Kangra Raja, and he sent a force against the Rana, who was absent from home, but his younger brother agreed to close the window through which the light was seen, and thus the matter was settled. On his return, however, the Rana reopened the window and the country was again invaded by Kangra, and all the members of the Rana family killed, except one *rani* who concealed herself in a broken wall. She was pregnant, and on the departure of the Kangra army was taken by some Bhat Brahmans to Haripur in Guler, and there she gave birth to a son named Hari-Singh. When he grew up he was offered a *jagir* by the Raja of Guler, to whom he was related through his mother, but the Raja of Chamba, who still held possession of Rihlu and Palam, offered Hari-Singh the old family *jagir* at Kanhiara, on

¹ *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 72.

condition that he would not raid the territory on the north side of the Dhauladhar.

The Ranas of Chari and Gharoh are of one ancestry and claim descent from the Pandus. The family originally came from Delhi, where they had been long settled, and seized the *ilaga* of Chari, taking the title of Rana. Some generations later, a younger brother of the then head of the family occupied Gharoh. A tradition exists in Chari similar to the Suhi tradition in Chamba,—a former Rana is said to have offered up his own daughter-in-law, a *rani*, as a sacrifice at the opening of a water-course, and she is still worshipped and commemorated.

The following Notes on the Ranas and Thakurs of Kulu have been kindly placed at our disposal by Mr. G. C. L. Howell, I.C.S., who was for three years in charge of the sub-division :—

Ranas in past times.

1. "One of these was Rana Ram-Pal of Nagar to whom all the Thakur families in Kothi Kais ascribe their downfall; but no other traces of him are to be found. He is not referred to in the *bansauli*, but this is by no means a proof that he was not a historical personage."

2. "Bhosal Rana had his capital at the fortified palace of Gada-Dheg, immediately below the modern village of Baragran, on the right bank of the Bias, almost opposite Nagar; which is approximately the site of his city of Sangor. The northern boundary of his state was the Siunsa Nala, near Manali, and the southern boundary was at Bajaura. His main place of defence was the huge dressed stone fort of Baragarh, near Baragran."

3. "In the reign of Sidh-Singh (A.D. 1500-1532), a powerful Chief, named Jhinna Rana, held both banks of the Bias above Jagatsukh and his forts were at Manjankot and Manali. His ancestors seem to have been in possession from a remote period, and his name still survives in local tradition."

Ranas and Thâkurs at the present time.

"The only Rana family now existing in Kulu is the Nawani family at Aleo, on the left bank of the Bias, near the foot of the Hamta Pass. They call themselves Kanet now, but are undoubtedly descended from a posthumous son of Rana Jhinna by a concubine. I discovered the family by

noticing that they erected memorial stones to their dead, like the Rajas of Mandi and Kulu, and gradually they told me their family history. The Thakur families are more numerous. The first to be mentioned has his fort at Kowail, in Kothi Baragarh. The head of the family is really a Thakur, but does not keep the title. The next family is that of Parsha, residing at Phati Nathain in Kothi Nagar. The family is one with the Thakurs of Kot Chuner in Siraj and also with the Kangra Thakurs. They first came from Kangra to Kulu as the Wazirs of Rupī, in the days when it was ruled by Suket, the cause of their migration being that they had fallen out with the Raja of Kangra. In the reign of Hari-Singh of Kulu, as they state, they were made Wazirs of Parsha, but there is no Raja of this name in the Kulu *bansauli*. They are casual about their marriage connections nowadays, the mother of one of them being a Rathiani. He, however, calls himself a Thakur and says he will only marry a Thakur's daughter."

"The ancestor of the Thakurs of Barogi was one Bogi Thakur who was killed by Raja Sidh-Singh. He also sacked the Barogi fort, but afterwards gave the family a *muafi*, or grant of rent-free land."

"From Bogi Thakur are descended the Thug and Kanddhru Thakurs, who intermarry only with Detu Thakurs of Kot and with Bashahrus, or Thakurs in Bashahr. The family does not wear the *janeu*, but they will eat only *dal*, etc., from the hands of one who does wear it."

"There are still eight or nine Thakur families in Kothi Kais, whose names are as follows:—Thug, Kanddhru, Kothiagi, Lanial, Dalal, Ragial, Basam, Chuman (Kashauli). The Dalal, Ragial and Kothiagi Thakurs all claim descent from the Kurlal Thakurs; the others are vague as to their origin. They state that their ancestors were conquered by one Rana Ram-Pal of Nagar, but the Kurlal Thakur co-operated with Ram-Pal and was spared. He had forts at Kothiagi, Daul and Rogi, where his descendants still reside. They all acknowledge the Parsha Thakur."

"The Thakurs of Inner Siraj, Siraj and Rupī are well off the beaten track and more than the others have retained their old caste spirit and traditions. Their caste marks are, (1) a single horizontal broad band across the forehead,

(2) a single dot on the bridge of the nose, (3) a line round the inside of the ear, (4) a horizontal mark over the Pomum Adami. The family at Tung in Kothi Sainsar is descended from one, Hul Thakur, some ten generations back. They do not wear the *janeo*.¹ In the family of Taliara in the same Kothi only one member wears the *janeo*, and he declines to follow the plough. In Kothi Banogi the family at Dashiar is descended from Bir-Chand of Kashauli in Rupī, who submitted to Raja Bahadur-Singh of Kulu without fighting. None of them wear the *janeo*. The ancestor of the Kateagi family in the same Kothi was killed by Raja Bahadur-Singh. His name was Nand-Surjan, and his son escaped. One member of the family wears the *janeo*. At Dashiar there are the remains of a fort with dressed stone walls, 40 feet high and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Suraj."

"At Daliara (Ladhiara), in Kothi Balhan, a Thakur resides who is lineally descended from Hathi, the Thakur who joined Raja Bahadur-Singh, A.D. 1527—59. He conquered the Hul Thakur for the Raja, and then commanded the troops all through the Siraj campaign. The family does not wear the *janeo*, and is not respected by the other Thakurs. It is chiefly interesting on account of the splendid Daliara tower, restored by the Government, and for the document already referred to detailing the conquests of Raja Bahadur-Singh."

"In Kothi Bunga are the Thakur families of Tandi and Dhangi. The families of Dashiar, Kateagi, Taliara and Tandi intermarry."

"Other so-called Thakurs in Kulu were merely Tibetan frontier officers, holding the left bank of the Bias. Above Jagat-sukh was Piti Thakur, whose *kitna*, or portal, and *chautara*, or sitting place, are still pointed out at the west and lower end of the fortified spur above Bhararu. He drank women's milk, and this made him so unpopular that Sidh-Singh was proclaimed Raja. Piti Thakur's temple was the Jamlu temple at Prini, the only one in which the Spiti people will worship. The *Chela* always says the god came from Mahabhotant, Mahachin, or Pangu-Padal-Mansarowar, and when really inspired he is supposed to speak Tibetan. Under Piti Thakur were the Dirot and Bhararu Thakurs, who not only milked women but performed human sacrifice."

¹*Janeu*=sacred thread.

“The actual survivors of the Thakur families do not form any very large community. Still there are enough of them to show that they were, as they still are, regarded as a distinct caste.”

“They are of course quite separate from the Tibetan Thakurs like Piti Thakur, who held all the approaches to the Chandrabhaga Valley, when Raja Sidh-Singh conquered Jinna Rana and founded the Badani dynasty in Kulu. At that time there was an ancient trade route from Bashahr, across the head of the Parbati Valley, and thence probably with one branch through Malana and another up the Tos Nala, and down the present course of the Shigri Glacier, which first overwhelmed this route in 1836. It then ran down the valley immediately west of the Shigri to a big ‘Alp’ near the camping ground now known as Phati-Runi. In those days the Kanauris, both of Bashahr and the Parbati Valley, used to trade at Phati-Runi with Tibetans from Rudok, etc., and the place is still called the Kanauri plain. It was in fact the exact equivalent of the modern Patseo in British-Lahul. They have no dealing with each other now.”

“In Raja Sidh-Singh’s time the Ladakhi kings no doubt made a point of protecting the flank of this route with advanced posts, of which Malana alone retains traces of a Tibetan character. The fact that Piti Thakur, and the Tibetans in the Kaknal Valley and other places in Kulu, all surrendered so quickly to the Badanis, shows perhaps the beginning of the break-up of the Ladakhi power, and also that the forts were too low. They could never have been held by Lahuli and Ladakhi troops for long periods without frequent reliefs, as the men would at once have got sick. In Tung Kothi, too, at the head of the Sainj Valley, one constantly comes across Tibetan names just as one does in Siraj and at the head of the Bias Valley. All probably represent Ladakhi advanced posts in former times.”

“When the Badani Rajas of Kulu conquered Lahul they immediately gave the name of ‘Thakur’ to all the *Chos* or Lahuli nobles, so that ‘Thakur’ was evidently the recognized Hindu title for a tributary chief. Again the Kangra Wazirs, imported by Suket to govern Rupī, also call themselves Thakurs, either because they bore the title in Kangra, or because *Thakur* is the generic name for any foreign official.”

“The Thakurs of Kulu were no doubt more or less aboriginal rulers. We have records only of such as asserted themselves when the Badani Rajas began to conquer the valley, but no doubt as the many dynasties which have ruled Kulu crumbled and decayed, there would be a tendency for the indigenous barons to strengthen their posts, and make themselves independent in fact if not in name. Such has always been the case in the marches all the world over, and we must remember that the Kulu Thakurs were ‘Lords Marchers,’ flanking a great trade artery and therefore liable at any time to be caught and crushed, when friction became acute between India and Tibet. It always seems to me that politically the Kulu people were much akin to what the Malikdin Afridis would be were Russia in Kabul. The line now receded and now advanced from and towards India, but on the whole climate prevailed, and so the Tibetans were ultimately expelled by less manly people. The Ranas I have no doubt were Rajputs, at any rate Jhinna Rana’s traditions are purely Rajput. He was certainly a contemporary of Raja Sidh-Singh, the founder of the Badani dynasty, of that there can be no doubt.”

“The Thakurs do not claim Rajput descent; some were almost pure Tibetans and others were probably almost pure aborigines. The Ranas and Thakurs were not originally feudal barons, but independent rulers. Raja Bahadur-Singh became Ruler of Lower Siraj, but he was not born so, and the Thakurs held no fief from him, and did not acknowledge him as suzerain until his army appeared and killed some and reduced others to submission. Of this campaign the correct account is no doubt that given by Bahadur-Singh himself in the *sanad* already referred to, granted to Hathi of Ladhiyara.”

In the neighbouring Hill States of Mandi, Suket and those of the Satluj Valley, conditions prevail similar to those so graphically described by Mr. Howell as existing in Kulu, and much the same is true of the Jammu area between the Ravi and the Chinab. From the information at our disposal the conclusion seems justified that the rule of the Thakurs and Ranas was the oldest political system in the Western Hills, and that, with local modifications, and possibly under different but similar titles, it may have been in force throughout the whole of the Outer Himalaya. Ethnological considerations also point to this conclusion. The Kanets and Rathis, including the Thakkur caste which forms the upper section of

the Rathi community, are the principal agricultural tribes in the Panjab hills, as far west as the Jehlam. They are all indigenous to the hills or, more likely, indigenous by the half-blood with the aboriginal races, and it is more than probable that the ancient Thakur rulers rose to power from among them. These tribes were settled in the hills long before the Ranas, who were Kshatriyas, that is, Rajputs, appeared on the scene. The title of *Thakkura*, now *Thākur*, must, therefore, have been older than that of Rana, and was probably in use from primitive times. The Ranas came in at a later period and conquered territory from the Thakurs, just as, at a still later time, the ancestors of the hill Rajas established their rule over both Thakurs and Ranas. This seems to be the most probable interpretation to put on the sequence of historical events in the hills, as known to us.

NOTE.—*Kshatra*, meaning "rule," and *Kshatria* "ruler." In ancient times *ksh.* was pronounced as *kh.* or *ch* in loch, and still is in the *Khatri* caste at the present time. As the name of the ancient warrior caste it is now spelt and pronounced, *chhatri*, with which *Rajput* is synonymous. The caste name, *Rathi*, is derived from *rashtra*, meaning 'kingdom.' The derivation of *Kanct* is uncertain.

CHAPTER III.

Historical Survey.

Until the early part of the nineteenth century the mountain area watered by the five rivers of the Panjab retained a political condition which, in its main features, recalls the days of the Epic Period. From the Indus to the sources of the Ganges, the outer ranges of the Panjab Himalaya were divided up among numerous Native States, each under its own hereditary Chief. Some of these principalities were founded as late as the fifteenth or sixteenth century, while others dated from the early centuries of the Christian era, and two at least—Kashmir and Trigarta (Kangra)—were still older.

According to Sir Alexander Cunningham the oldest classification of these States divided them into three groups, each named after the most powerful State which was the head of the confederation. These were Kashmir, Dugar and Trigarta. The first group consisted of Kashmir and the petty States between the Indus and the Jehlam; the second included Dugar (Jammu) and the petty States between the Jehlam and the Ravi; the third comprised Jalandhar or Trigarta (Kangra) and the various small States between the Ravi and the Satluj. There are indications, he says, that this division into three groups was in existence from a period anterior to the seventh century. In this classification we omit the Simla Hill States, forming a fourth group, most of which are situated between the Satluj and the Jamna. In the present chapter we propose to give a general survey of the history of these States, reserving for future chapters a separate and more detailed account of each, so far as the material at our disposal will allow. With some modifications the classification adopted is that of Sir Alexander Cunningham.

The following list includes the names of the various States, associated with Kashmir, forming the Western Group :¹—

<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <i>W. group</i> <i>mir</i> </div> <div> Muhammadan </div> </div>	{	1. Kashmir.	7. Dhantawar.
		2. Gingal.	8. Gandgarh.
		3. Muzaffarabad.	9. Darband.
		4. Khagan.	10. Tarbela.
		5. Garhi.	11. Pharwala.
		6. Rash.	12. Sultanpur.
		13. Khanpur.	

¹ *Ancient Geography of India*, Volume I, page 130 et seq.

Kashmir was the oldest and most powerful of the three original States, and was founded long before the Christian era.¹ Previous to the seventh century its supremacy had been extended to the eastward as far as Trigarta (Kangra), and westward to the Indus. In the ninth century, Trigarta was again conquered, and for a time the sovereign power of Kashmir was carried to the Satluj.² As late as the beginning of the twelfth century, it was still powerful enough to enforce its supremacy over the whole of the outer hills, between the Ravi and the Indus. But its prestige was then on the wane, and soon afterwards the smaller States became independent. The Rajput dynasty was displaced by Muhammadan Sultans in A.D. 1339, and in 1586 the country was subdued by Akbar and annexed to the Mughal Empire.

The hill tracts between the Jehlam and the Indus, comprising almost the whole of the present Hazara District, formed in ancient times the kingdom of Urasha, of which the name still survives in the Urash or Rash plain. It is also probably the "*Uraga*" of the *Mahabharata*. It is referred to by Ptolemy (Geog. VII, 1.45), who calls it "*Arsa* or *Ouarsa*" and describes it as lying between the Bidaspes (Jehlam) and the Indus. The capital is said to have been at Mangali, midway between Naushahra and Mansehra, and 50 to 80 miles north-east of Taxila.

The earliest reference to the State is in the narrative of the Greek historians of Alexander's expedition (B.C. 326), and the king of that time is called Arsakes, evidently a clan or tribal name from the name of the country. He waited on Alexander at the Chinab, on his return from the Bias, with gifts, in company with the embassy of Abhisares the king of Darvabhisara, now called Chibhan. During the rule of the Mauryas, Urasha formed a part of the province of which Taxila was the capital, and of which Asoka was Viceroy in his father's life-time. The rocks on which his famous edicts are inscribed are within the Hazara District, and must have been in the Urasha State.

The population at that period was Hindu, and many traditions are said to be current at the present time, relating to local petty Chiefs, called Ranas, who held power at a remote period, as in other parts of the hills.

¹ *Ancient Geography of India*, Volume I, page 130 et seq.

² *Rajatarangini*, Stein, III, 100; IV, 177; V, 143-44; VII, 218-221; 588-590.

Many centuries elapse before another historical reference to Urasha occurs, and it is in the travels of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, in A.D. 631. What were the fortunes of Urasha during the intervening period, from B.C. 326, we can only conjecture, but we may assume that it continued to be closely associated with Kashmir. We know also that Kashmir, and doubtless the surrounding hill tracts, were included in the kingdom of the Kushana rulers of Peshawar, from about A.D. 50. Hiuen Tsiang's reference is as follows:—"The kingdom of Wu-la-shi is about 2,000 *li* (333 miles) in circuit, the mountains and valleys form a continuous chain. The fields fit for cultivation are contracted as to space. The capital is 7 or 8 *li* in circuit. There is no king, but the country is dependent on Kashmir. The soil is suitable for sowing and reaping, but there are few flowers or fruits. The air is soft and agreeable, there is very little ice or snow. The people have no refinement, the men are hard and rough in their disposition and are much given to deceit. They do not believe in the religion of Buddha."

"To the south-west of the capital, 4 or 5 *li*, is a stupa about 200 feet or so in height, which was built by Asoka Raja. By its side is a *sangharama* (monastery) in which there are a few disciples who study the Great Vehicle."

"Going south-east from this; crossing over mountains and treading along precipices, passing over chain bridges—after 1,000 *li* or so, we come to the country of Kia-shi-mi-lo (Kashmir)."

The capital referred to was probably Mangali on the Mangal stream, in the centre of the tract lying to the north of the Rash plain, where a few traces of the walls are still to be seen. Local tradition points to the place as the ancient capital.¹

Sir A. Cunningham considered that the circuit of the State of 333 miles is probably correct, as also the distance of 1,000 *li*, or 167 miles, of the capital from Kashmir.² The connection with Kashmir seems to have continued after Hiuen Tsiang's visit, as Urasha is several times mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* as a tributary State.

The first reference is in the time of Raja Sankara Varman of Kashmir (A.D. 883—902).³ He led an expedition against

¹ *Hazara Gazetteer*, page 118.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, page 103-4.

³ *Rajatarangini*, Stein, V, 217-19, and VII, 585-588-590, VIII, 3402.

NOTE.—The survival of the name *Urash* locally may mean that *Urasha* was the name of the ancient capital, from which the State also took its name.

the people on the banks of the Indus, and having conquered them returned through Urasha. There a conflict took place in connection with his camp, and a man shot an arrow from a hill which wounded the king in the neck, of which he died. Urasha seems to have remained subject to Kashmir, and in the reign of Kalasa, the son of Ananta-deva (A.D. 1068-89), it was again occupied, and in A.D. 1087 the Raja, named Sangata, came to Srinagar to tender his homage, along with seven other tributary hill Chiefs. The daughter of a later Raja, named Abhaya, was married to Bhoja, son of Harsha and grandson of Kalasa of Kashmir, and her son was Bhikshachara who was the last of his line. The last reference to Urasha in the *Rajatarangini* is towards the end of Jayasinha's reign, about A.D. 1149-50. The Raja of that time, named Dvitiya, had rebelled, and a force was sent against him which captured Atyagrapura, now Agror, a well known hill district on the north-west of Hazara, identified with the Isagouros of Ptolemy.

This is the last mention of Urasha in any historical document, and we may perhaps assume that the Hindu dynasty came to an end not long afterwards, as the result of the Muhammadan invasions and the spread of Islam among the population. In A.D. 1399 Timur passed through the fringe of the outer hills on his retirement from Delhi, and settled a number of Karlugh Turks in the district, which is said to have received the new name of Hazara from this circumstance. The Turki word *ming* means 'a thousand,' of which the Urdu equivalent is *hazar*. Each Turki regiment contained one thousand men, hence the name *Hazara*, meaning the country of the Turki *ming* or regiment.

The settlement of Turks by Timur is referred to in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. In the Mughal period a large part of the country was called Pakhli Sirkar by Abul Fazl, and Hazara Pakhli by Jahangir, and was inhabited chiefly by the Turks referred to.

In the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries, the Turks were in their turn dispossessed by Swati and other Pathan tribes from the west of the Indus, and except the Gakhars and the Gujars, few of the present owners of the soil can trace their title back beyond the beginning of the eighteenth century. Most of the States of the western group were thus of recent origin and seem to have been more of the nature of *jagirs*, under the paramount power.

In 1752 the Panjab was ceded to Ahmad Shah, Durani, and Hazara along with the greater part of the Western Hills came under his sway. Afghan authority, however, was never fully established east of the Chinab. In 1818-19 Durani rule east of the Indus came to an end, with the conquest of Kashmir and the adjacent hill tracts by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and Hazara remained under Sikh control till 1846. It was then included in the Treaty of Transfer of 16th March of that year, under which Kashmir and the adjoining territories were made over to Maharaja Gulab-Singh of Jammu, but it reverted to the Sikhs in 1847 and became British territory on the annexation of the Panjab in 1849.

Gingal and Muzaffarabad were in the Jehlam Valley below Baramula, and were held by Khaka Bamba tribes. The other States were all within the area now comprised in the Hazara District. Khagan and Garhi were on the Kunhar river. Dhantawar and Gandgarh on the Dor river, Darband and Tarbela on the Indus, while Rash was on the Pakhli river. These were all occupied by Afghans. Pharwala and Sultanpur on the lower Jehlam and Khanpur on the Haro river were held by Gakhars. As already mentioned most of these States were of recent origin and no historical details are available.

The following list gives the names of the various States associated with Dugar or Jammu, forming the Central Group :¹—

Country.	Clan.
1. Jammu.	Jamwal.
2. Mankot.	Mankotia.
3. Jasrota.	Jasrotia.
4. Lakhanpur.	Lakhanpuria.
5. Samba. —	Sambial.
6. Tirikot.	Tirikotia.
7. Akhnur.	Akhnuria.
8. Riasi.	Riasial.
9. Dalpatpur.	Dalpatia.
10. Bhau. —	Bhauwal.
11. Bhoti. —	Bhatial.
12. Chanehni.	Hantal.
13. Bandralta.	Bandral.
14. Basohli. —	Balauria.
15. Bhadrawah.	Bhadrawahia.
16. Bhadu. —	Bhadwal.

Hindu

¹ Cunningham's classification has been retained, but the Muhammadan States should be included in the Western Group, as they were associated with Kashmir throughout the whole period of their history, down to A.D. 1820, when they came under Jammu.

	Country.	Clan.
Muhammadan	17. Kashtwar.	Kashtwaria.
	18. Punch.	Mangral.
	19. Kotli.	Mangral.
	20. Rajaouri.	Jaral.
	21. Bhimbar.	Chibh.
	22. Khari-Khariyali.	Chibh.

The Hindu States were all situated between the Ravi and the Chinab, except Aknur and part of Kashtwar.

The towns of Jammu and Bahu are at the foot of the hills, on opposite banks of the Jammu Tawi, a tributary of the Chinab, and are said to have been founded by two brothers.

Dugar (Jammu) State is very ancient, but no mention of it is found in any documents previous to the eleventh century. In the copper-plate deeds, granted by Rajas of Chamba about A.D. 1060-80, it is referred to under its ancient name of Durgara, from which the modern form, Dugar, is evidently derived; and in connection with events which must have taken place in the early part of the tenth century.¹ These inscriptions prove that Dugar then existed as a State ruled by its own Raja. It is a matter of considerable surprise that no mention of Jammu is to be found in the *Rajatarangini*, and the explanation most probably is, that Jammu did not become the capital of the State till a later period. The original capital was at Bahu,² but it seems to have been changed for a time in the eleventh century to Babbapura, now Babor, 17 miles east of Jammu town, where ancient remains are found. Two, and possibly three, of the Rajas of Babbapura are mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*, as having been subject to Kashmir in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³ Jammu became the capital in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and is frequently referred to in Muhammadan history, from the time (A.D. 1398) when it was captured by Timur. Like the rest of the Hill States it was subject to the Mughals till 1752, when it came under the control of the Durani Kings of Kabul, and in 1810-12, it was subjected by Maharaja Ranjit-Singh. The senior branch of the Jammu royal family was expelled in 1816, and in 1820 the State was conferred as a fief on Raja Gulab-Singh, the head of the junior branch. The name of Dugar is now applied to the entire tract in the outer hills, between the Chinab and the Ravi. It is note-

¹Cf. *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for 1907, page 403, and *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 76.

² Bahu, the ancient capital, must be distinguished from Bhanu, a small State of later times.

³ *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VII, 588-590, foot-note.

worthy that, of the twenty-two States of the Central Group, no fewer than ten were ruled by branches of the same family, of which Jammu was the head. These States were :—Jammu, Bhau, Dalpatpur, Samba, Jasrota, Tirikot, Lakhanpur, Mankot, Bhoti and Akhnur. The extensive ramifications of the family, therefore, strongly support its claim to great antiquity. Akhnur, Riasi, Bhau, Dalpatpur and Bhoti seem always to have been more or less dependent on Jammu, but the others enjoyed greater freedom. Samba and Tirikot were offshoots from Lakhanpur. Probably all these States were founded subsequent to the thirteenth century. The Riasi family claim descent from the Sesodias of Chitor.

Dalpatpur was in the Tawi Valley; Samba, Jasrota, Tirikot and Lakhanpur were in the outer Savalak hills, bordering on the plains, and Mankot, now called Ramkot, was in the Basantar valley, north-east of Jammu. They were probably all founded in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and may previously have been fiefs dependent on Jammu. Bandralta, now called Ramnagar, was situated in the middle Tawi Valley. According to the *Vansavali*, it was founded in the beginning of the eleventh century by a cadet of the Chamba royal family. Little is known of its later history.

Chanehni, of which the ancient name was Himta, was in the Upper Tawi Valley, north of Ramnagar. It was founded, in the early part of the ninth century, by a branch of the same family which still rules in Bilaspur and Nalagarh, and which is said to have originally come from Chanderi in Bandelkhand.

Bhoti was to the north of Jammu,¹ with the capital at Krimchi.

The three following States—Balor (Basohli), Bhadu (map Padoo), and Bhadrawah (map Badrawar)—were ruled by branches of the same family, which came originally from Mayapuri (Hardwar). A cadet of the original family had previously settled in Kulu. Balor is in the Upper Ujh Valley to the west of the Ravi, and is many times mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* in the eleventh century, under the name of Vallapura, proving that the State then existed and was subject to Kashmir.² The name of the State may then have been Sumata, and if so the people are referred to in a Chamba copper-plate deed, under the name of Saumatika, as having joined with Durgara in the tenth century in an invasion of

¹ Probably Bhoti also was an offshoot of Jammu.

² *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VII, 588, 590, 220, 270; VIII, 539, 542, 622.

Chamba. The capital was removed to Basolili on the Ravi in the seventeenth century.

Bhadu (map Padoo) is to the south of Balor in the Ujh Valley. It was probably a fief of Vallapura which became independent in the eleventh century, and continued as a separate State till annexed by Jammu in 1840-41. Bhadrawah is mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* as *Bhadravakasa*, and is situated in the inner mountains to the north of Balor, in the valley of the Niru, a tributary of the Chinab.¹ It, too, may originally have been a fief under Balor, which became a separate State in the fifteenth century, but at a later period was more or less dependent on Chamba or Jammu.

The Muhammadan States of the Central Group all lay between the Chinab and the Jehlam. Kashtwar seems to have been founded in the first half of the tenth century by a cadet of the Sena ruling family of Gaur in Bengal, of which branches rule in Suket, Mandi and Keonthal, and the State is mentioned under the name of Kashavata in the *Rajatarangini* as having been subject to Kashmir in the eleventh century.² The ruling family embraced Islam in the reign of Aurangzeb, and was dispossessed by Maharaja Ranjit-Singh in 1820. Being far in the interior of the mountains it had enjoyed a longer period of independence than any of the other States.

The first historical notice of Rajapuri or Rajauri occurs in the travels of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who, in A.D. 638, traversed the country on his way from Kashmir to the Panjab. It was then dependent on Kashmir.

Throughout the whole period of its history the capital was at Rajauri, in the valley of the Minawar Tawi, and its rule extended over the greater part of that valley. From the tenth century it is frequently referred to in the *Rajatarangini* under the name of Rajapuri, and seems to have been more or less independent and frequently in conflict with Kashmir. It was subdued in the reign of Kalasa (A.D. 1063-89), and its Raja was in Srinagar with other tributary hill Chiefs, in A.D. 1087-88.³ In the fifteenth century the Hindu ruling family was dispossessed in favour of a son of the Muhammadan King of Kashmir, who married the daughter of the last Hindu Raja.

Punch (Parnotsa) and Kotli were situated in the valley of the Punch Tawi, a tributary of the Jehlam, and during the

¹ *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VIII, 501. The lower Niru Valley is still called Khasali, the upper portion being Bhadrawah. Bhadu and Bhadrawah were off-shoots from Balor.

² *ibid.*, Stein, VII, 588-90.

³ *Ibid.*, Stein, VII, 541, 588-90 Kashtwar was probably an offshoot from Suket, as stated in the Suket Chronicle. Half of the State with the capital was to the east of the Chinab.

period of Hindu rule formed one State, which seems to have included the greater part of that valley. At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Parnotsa or Punch was subject to Kashmir, and had no king of its own. Most probably, as Sir Aurel Stein suggests, it was then included in the kingdom of Lohara,¹ and may have been the name of the State of which Lohara was the capital, and of which the ruling family afterwards played such an important part in Kashmir history. Kotli was founded about the fifteenth century by a branch of the royal family of Kashmir. Kotli and Punch remained independent till subdued by Maharaja Ranjit-Singh in 1815 and 1819, respectively, and about 1822 the State of Punch was conferred on Raja Dhian-Singh of Jammu, and is still in the possession of his descendants; subject to the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

South of these States,² and in the outer hills bordering on the plains, were Bhimbar and Khariāli, which were founded in the fifteenth century by a family claiming descent from the Katoch Rajas of Kangra. Bhimbar held a large tract of country along the foot of the hills, and also the district of Naushahra, while Khari-Kharyali was on the left bank of the Lower Jehlam and probably included a part of the district of Mirpur.³ The earlier name of Bhimbar, by which it was known among Muhammadan writers, was Chibhan and this name now includes most of the country in which the Muhammadan States were situated. The ancient name of the country between the Chinab and the Jehlam was Darvabhisara, which is referred to in the *Rajatarangini* from an early period as having been subject to Kashmir.⁴ A king of the country, named Abhisares,⁵ is mentioned by the historians of Alexander's campaign. Except Punch, which is still semi-independent, the remaining twenty-one States of the Central Group now form the province of Jammu, in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The ruling families of the Dugar Hindu States were all of the Surajbansi race, except Chanehni, Balor, Bhadu, and Bhadrawah, which were Chandarbansi.*

¹ *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VII, 590.

² *Punjab Chiefs*, by Sir Lepel Griffin, page 584.

³ *Jammu and Kashmir*, page 57.

⁴ *Rajatarangini*, Stein, Volume II, page 432.

⁵ *Abhisares* was a tribal name.

* Kashtwar was also originally Chandarbansi.

NOTE.—Chibhāl is the adjective from Chibhān.

The following list comprises the various States associated with Jalandhar or Trigarta, forming the Eastern Group :—

	Country.	Clan.
Hindu	✓ 1. Kangra.	Katoch.
	✓ 2. Guler.	Guleria.
	✓ 3. Kotla.	Guleria.
	✓ 4. Jaswan.	Jaswal.
	5. Siba.	Sibania.
	6. Datarpur.	Dadwal.
	7. Nurpur.	Pathania.
	8. Chamba.	Chambial.
	✓ 9. Suket.	Suketia.
	10. Mandi.	Mandial.
	11. Kulu.	Kaulua.
	12. Kutlehr.	Kutlehria.
	13. Bangahal.	Bangahalia.
Muhammadan	14. Shahpur.	Pathania.

The Kingdom of Jalandhara or Trigarta, as it existed almost down to the time of the Muhammadan invasions in the beginning of the eleventh century, comprised all the country between the Ravi and the Satluj in the hills, except Kulu, and also the Jalandhar Doab in the plains. After the Muhammadan invasions began, the territory on the plains was lost, and Nagarkot or Kangra then became the capital of the State. Another name of the country is Katoch, from which the royal family derives its clan name, and which continued in use till the early part of last century.

The traditional history of the State goes back to a time long anterior to the Christian era. It is said to have been founded by one, Susarma-Chandra, who figures in the *Mahabharata* as an ally of the Kauravas. In the seventh century Jalandhara was visited by Hiuen Tsiang on his way from Kashmir to Kanauj. He was entertained by the Raja, whose name was *Utito*. The famous fort was captured by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1009, and is said to have changed hands several times during the subsequent centuries, till it was finally garrisoned by Imperial troops in A.D. 1620, in the reign of Jahangir. On the decline of the Mughal power, Kangra fort was taken, in 1783, by the Sikhs, but in 1786 it was restored to its rightful owner, the Raja of Kangra, by whom it was lost to Ranjit-

Singh in 1809. In 1828 the State was overturned and annexed to the Kingdom of Lahore. During the Mughal period the capital had been moved to Nadaun and placed in the Bias Valley, which continued to be the residence of the Rajas till the extinction of their power.

The Chiefships of Jaswan, Guler, Siba and Datarpur were all off-shoots from Kangra. Traditionally, Jaswan is said to have become independent about A.D. 1170. The next separation was that of Guler about A.D. 1405, and the foundation of the State took place in the following manner :—Hari-Chand, the Raja of Kangra, being out hunting, got separated from his followers and fell into a well. After a fruitless search the hunting party returned to Kangra, believing that the Chief was dead. His funeral rites were performed, the *ranis* becoming *sati*, and Karm-Chand, the younger brother of the Raja, was seated on the *gaddi*. But Hari-Chand was still alive, and after twenty-two days, it is said, his presence in the well was discovered by a merchant, who extricated him. On hearing of what had taken place at Kangra, he resolved not to attempt the recovery of the kingdom, and selecting a spot in Guler he built the town and fort of Haripur and founded a new State.¹ Guler is thus the senior branch of the Katoch family, and on all ceremonial occasions takes precedence of Kangra. The ancient limits of the principality are preserved in the present *pargana* of Haripur, if Datarpur be added and *tappa* Gangot excluded. By the Muhammadan historians the State is called Gwaliar, from the tradition that a cowherd or *guala* pointed out to Hari-Chand the spot on which the fort of Haripur was built; the cowherd being offered as a sacrifice to ensure the stability of the walls, and afterwards worshipped as the guardian deity of the place. A similar story is told in connection with the founding of the famous fortress of Taragarh in Chamba, by Raja Jagat-Singh of Nurpur (A.D. 1619-46). Siba and Datarpur were both off-shoots from Guler. Siba was founded in the middle of the fifteenth century by Sibarn-Chand, a younger brother of the ruling Chief of Guler, who made himself independent and gave his own name to the new State. It corresponded precisely with the present Siba *taluqa* of Kangra. Datarpur was founded about A.D. 1550, and in much the same way, by Datar-Chand, a cadet of the Siba family. Datarpur and Jaswan are both in the Hoshiarpur District.

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, page 7.

Kutlehr was a small principality on the borders of Kangra and Hoshiarpur, and was founded about the eleventh century by a Brahman family from Sambhal¹ near Moradabad, which after acquiring military power was regarded as Rajput. It was the smallest of the Kangra group of States.

Kulu was probably one of the oldest principalities in the Panjab Hills. In the *Vishnu Purana* a people called Uluta or Kuluta are referred to, who must be the same as the Kauluta of the *Ramayana*. By Hiuen Tsiang the country is called Kiu-lu-to, which, according to Cunningham, exactly corresponds with the previous name. Judging from general evidence, the State may have been founded in the second century A.D. The ruling family, so tradition holds, came from Mayapuri (Hardwar) and was probably the parent stem from which were founded the States of Vallapura, Bhadu and Bhadrawah. Kulu included the whole of the Upper Bias Valley and Lahul.

The capital was originally at Nast (Jagat-sukh), afterwards at Nagar, and finally at Sultanpur.

The Nurpur State is said to have been founded by a Tomar Rajput, named Jhet-Pal, from Dehli, who settled in Pathankot about A.D. 1000. In its palmy days it included the whole of the present Nurpur Tahsil of Kangra, with the *talukas* of Shahpur and Kandi, now in Gurdaspur. The ancient capital was at Pathankot, the original name of which was Pratishthana. The name has, therefore, no connection with the Pathans of the North-West Frontier. In the *Badshahnama* the State is called 'Mau and Paithan.' In the beginning of the seventeenth century the capital was changed to Dahmari, re-named Nurpur after the Emperor, Nur-ud-Din Jahangir. In the latter part of Shahjahan's reign, the portion of the State between the Chakki and the Ravi was disjoined, and erected into a separate principality, in favour of Bhau-Singh, who was a younger son of Raja Jagat-Singh, and later became a Muhammadan. Its capital was at Shahpur on the Ravi, and it was overturned by the Sikhs in 1781. Nurpur came under Sikh control in 1809, and was annexed in 1816. The small State of Kotla, east of Nurpur, was originally a part of Guler State, but seems sometimes to have been held by Nurpur. It was in the possession of the Wazir of Guler, when annexed by Ranjit-Singh in 1811.

Bangahal was a small State situated between Kangra and Kulù; with two provinces, now named, Chhota Bangahal

¹ The family records claim descent from a Raja of Poona.

to the south and Bara Bangahal to the north of the Dhaula Dhar; and other tracts. It was founded by a Brahman family which was afterwards recognized as Rajput. It is said to have been in existence for twenty generations, but may have been much older. The family collaterals still survive and reside at Bir in Chhota Bangahal.

We have now to refer to the three principalities of the Kangra group, which were fortunate enough to escape the rapacious grasp of the Sikhs, and are still numbered among the Native States of the Panjab. These are Chamba, Mandi and Suket.

The original capital and nucleus of the Chamba State,¹ founded about A.D. 550, was Brahmor, the ancient Brahmapura, in a side valley of the Upper Ravi. Here ruled at the end of the seventh century a Raja named Meru-Varman, who traced his descent back to a progenitor bearing the name of Mushana. In the beginning of the tenth century the reigning Raja conquered the Lower Ravi Valley, and moved the capital to Champa, now called Chamba. The State was for many centuries subject to Kashmir, but it regained its independence in the twelfth century. It possesses a unique collection of ancient records and archæological remains, from which its history has been compiled, consisting of historical documents, copper-plate title deeds and inscriptions on stone, brass, copper, wood, silver and gold. The State was subject to the Mughal Empire from the time of Akbar till 1752, when it passed under the sway of the Durani Kings of Kabul. From 1770 it became tributary to the Sikhs and from 1786 to 1805 to Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra. In 1809 it was subjected by Maharaja Ranjit-Singh along with all the other States of the Kangra group, and came under the control of the British Government in 1847.

Sir A. Cunningham assigns the foundation of Suket to the eighth century, and this conclusion is corroborated by a reference to the State in the Chamba *Vansavali*, in connection with Raja Mushan-Varman, A.D. 820, who found a refuge there when Chamba was invaded and his father killed. He is said to have married the daughter of the Suket Raja and received as her dowry a village in Pangna, an ancient district of the State.²

About A.D. 1000, Bhau-Sen a younger brother of the ruling Chief of Suket, retired to Kulu and settled there.

¹ *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 69.

² Pangna was the original capital, and the nucleus of the State. A *jagir* in Pangna is probably meant.

Ban-Sen, the eleventh in descent from Bhau-Sen, fell heir, through his mother, to the small chiefship of Seokot, which was the nucleus of Mandi State, and founded the town of Old Mandi. This was about A.D. 1200. These States were subject to the Mughals and the Duranis, and came under Sikh supremacy in 1809. All the ruling families of the Kangra group of States, except Chamba, are of Chandarbansi race.

Popular opinion regards the great rivers as forming the boundary lines between the different groups of States, and Sir A. Cunningham has adhered to this basis of classification. It seems, however, that a classification of the States, according to the river basins in which they were situated, would be truer to fact, and give a clearer idea of their geographical position. The mountain ranges would then be seen to form the natural boundaries between the various groups, as well as largely between the States themselves. Such a classification would not materially differ from that which has already been described.

If, for example, we take the States of the Central Group situated in the basins of the Chinab and the Ravi, the traditional division can be maintained, with some slight modification. To the States of the group Chamba has to be added, and Punch, Kotli and Khariāli deducted, making twenty in all; of these some were ruled by Muhammadan Chiefs in later times, but as a whole the Central Group remained essentially Hindu. The Rajas who became Muhammadan retained their Hindu titles, names and customs, and even their family priest, on whom occasionally they bestowed grants of land duly attested by copper-plate title-deeds. In Kashtwar, for example, there are two such title-deeds issued by Rajas Amolak-Singh and Tegh-Singh in A.D. 1728 and 1804. The inhabitants of those States, too, remained for the most part Hindu, as they are at the present time.

The traditional classification of the Western Group also remains the same, with the addition of Punch, Kotli and Khariāli, making sixteen States, all of which are situated in the basins of the Jehlam and the Indus.

Of the Eastern or Jalandhar group, all except Chamba, were situated in the basin of the Bias. Chamba, as we have seen, belongs mainly to the Ravi Valley, and must therefore be deducted, leaving thirteen in the group.¹ As regards the headship of the confederacies, we may regard the division into three groups as holding good, so far as the Kashmir and Kangra

¹ A large portion of Suket is in the Satluj Valley, but the capital is in the Bias Valley.

States are concerned, but there is no evidence that Jammu or Durgara, held a leading place among the States of the Central Group till the latter half of the eighteenth century. It is significant that in the *Rajatarangini* Durgara is never mentioned. It is true that reference is made to a ruler of Babbapura, modern Babor, which in all probability was then the capital of the State, but there is no proof that he exercised any suzerainty over the other Hill States of the Chinab and Ravi Valleys. On the contrary, he appears to have held exactly the same position as Chamba. When references to the Chiefs occur in the *Rajatarangini*, the first place is given alternately to Babbapura and Chamba. In some respects indeed it would seem more appropriate to consider Chamba as the head of the Central Group, for it comprised for some ten centuries not only the greater part of the Ravi basin, but also a considerable portion of the Chandrabhaga or Chinab Valley. But neither in the case of Chamba nor in that of Jammu should we be entitled to speak of a confederation. Indeed, in the main, we feel compelled to agree with Sir Aurel Stein that of the political organization, in ancient times, of the hill territories between Vallapura (Balor) in the south-east and Rajapuri in the north-west, we have no certain knowledge.

A brief reference must here be made to a fanciful classification of the Panjab Hill States, of the Central and Eastern Groups, under the names of Dvigarta, the land of the two rivers, viz., the Chinab and the Ravi, and Trigarta, the land of the three rivers, viz., the Ravi, Bias and Satluj. The name, *Dvigarta*, which is regarded as the ancient form of Dugar, is really a coined word, and does not occur in any ancient documents. From the Chamba inscriptions we know that the ancient form of Dugar was *Durgara*, and that it was then the name of Jammu proper, comprising only a small portion of the Chinab Valley. The name, *Dvigarta*, was probably suggested from the analogy of *Trigarta*, and may have come into use in the early part of the eighteenth century, when Jammu began to claim some degree of supremacy over the other Hill States between the Chinab and the Ravi. Drew¹ explains the name, *Dvigarta*, as referring to the two holy lakes, Saroin Sar and Mansar, near Jammu.

A remark seems also to be called for with reference to the use, or rather misuse, of the terms, *Dugar* and *Dogra*, by the military authorities at the present time. Most of the

¹ *Jammu and Kashmir*, by Drew, page 44.

recruits for the Dogra regiments are drawn from the Kangra and Chamba hills, and the application of the above terms has been extended so as to cover the whole recruitment area, from the Chinab to the Satluj. This use of the names is geographically quite incorrect. The only part of the hills to which the terms *Dugar* and *Dogra* are applicable is the tract between the Chinab and the Ravi, south of the Pir-Panjal.

The common interpretation of the name, *Trigarta*, as referring to the Ravi, Bias and Satluj is also open to question. In the ancient documents the name is always applied to the Lower Bias Valley, i.e., Kangra Proper. It does not include Chamba or Balor to the west, nor the Satluj States to the east. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as we know, Chamba and Balor were more or less dependent on Kashmir, but there is nothing to show that the Rajas of Trigarta ever exercised any permanent supremacy over the States of the Ravi Valley, though temporarily a powerful and ambitious ruler (like Sansar-Chand at the end of the eighteenth century) may have extended his influence on the other side of the Dhaula Dhar. We consider that on the whole it is much more probable that the name, Trigarta, refers to the three main tributaries of the Bias, which water the Kangra District. These are the Banganga, Kurali and Nayagul, which unite at Haripur, and under the name of Trigadh, which is the same as Trigarta, fall into the Bias opposite Siba Fort. We may conclude that in ancient times the Kingdom of Katoch was regarded as consisting of two great provinces—Jalandhara on the plains and Trigarta in the hills—and these names were used interchangeably for the whole kingdom. An almost exact parallel is presented in the case of the Jammu and Kashmir State at the present time. The name *Trigadh* was in use for Kangra as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹

A classification² of a much later date than the one already described divided the Alpine Panjab, between the Indus and the Satluj, into 22 Hindu and 22 Muhammadan Chiefships, the former being to the east and the latter to the west of the Chinab. Obviously this classification must have been of comparatively late origin, for the rulers of many of the Muhammadan States did not embrace Islam till the period of Mughal ascendancy. This division also cannot be accepted without modification, as Bhadrawah, Riasi and Akhnur which were included among the Muhammadan States, were under

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, page 139.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, page 130.

Hindu rule throughout the whole period of their history. The number twenty-two we must regard as conventional, for in reality the States were always more or less in number. The Muhammadan States included the whole of the Western Group and the Muhammadan States of the Central Group, 21 in all. The Hindu States comprised the whole of the Eastern Group and the Hindu States of the Central Group, 28 in all.

Again, the 22 Hindu States are popularly regarded as divided into two groups or circles, each comprising 11 States, one group being to the east and the other to the west of the Ravi. They are named, respectively, the Jalandhar Circle and the Dugar Circle, as in the following tables :¹—

I.—JALANDHAR CIRCLE.

<i>Country.</i>	<i>Clan.</i>
1. Chamba.	Chambial.
2. Nurpur.	Pathania.
3. Guler.	Guleria.
4. Datarpur.	Dadwal.
5. Siba.	Sibaia.
6. Jaswan.	Jaswal.
7. Kangra.	Katoch.
8. Kutlehr.	Kutleheria.
9. Mandi.	Mandial.
10. Suket.	Suketia.
11. Kulu.	Kolua.

II.—DUGAR CIRCLE.

1. Chamba.	Chambial.
2. Basohli.	Balauria.
3. Bhadu.	Bhadwal.
4. Mankot.	Mankotia.
5. Bandralta.	Bandral.
6. Jasrota.	Jasrotia.
7. Samba.	Sambial.
8. Jammu.	Jamwal.
9. Chanehni.	Hantal.
10. Kashtwar.	Kashtwaria.
11. Bhadrawah.	Bhadrawahia.

The number eleven is also conventional, for the States were really more numerous, especially in later times. Thus to the Jalandhar group we must add Bangahal, Kotla and Shahpur, and to the Dugar group, Bhoti, Dalpatpur, Lakhanpur and Tirikot. It will be observed that Chamba finds a place in both groups owing to its being divided by the Ravi.

¹ *Kangra Settlement Report*, Barnes, para. 262.

Most of the royal families which formerly ruled these States have long since been dispossessed of their territories, but almost all are in existence in the direct line of descent, and where this is not so, collateral branches are still extant. Each of these families bears a distinctive appellation or clan name, derived in almost every instance from the country over which it formerly held dominion. In some cases the clan name was taken from the original capital, and it usually remained the same even when the capital was changed. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, as in the case of Chamba and Jammu, where the clan-names are derived from the present capitals, which are also the names of the respective States.

Some of the clan names cannot be at once identified ; for example, Katoch, Pathania, Dadwal, Balauria and Hiuntal or Hantal. Katoch is the ancient name of Kangra, still in use till the early part of the nineteenth century. Pathania is from Pathan, an abbreviation of Pratishtana, the ancient name of Pathankot, which was the original capital of Nurpur State. Dadwal is from Dada, a place in Siba from whence the Datarpur family originally came. Balauria is from Balor (ancient Vallapura), the original capital of Basohli State. Hiuntal¹ or Hantal is from Hiunta, or Himta, the original name of Chanehni State.

In addition to the general clan name, each clan comprises numerous sub-divisions, each of which has a distinctive *al* or family surname. As the original family increased, individual members of it left the court to settle on some estate in the country, and their descendants, though still retaining the generic name of the clan, were further distinguished by the name of the estate with which they became immediately identified. Sometimes, though not so frequently, the name of an ancestor furnished a surname for his posterity ; occasionally a local circumstance, such as a special tree or garden near the home, or the quarter of the town where the family resided, suggested a name which came into use as a family surname. In this way every clan includes several and sometimes many subordinate *als* or family surnames, most of which are usually known to the members of the clan. For example, the Katoch clan has four great sub-divisions, *viz.*, Jaswal, Guleria, Dadwal and Sibaia, in addition to the generic appellation of "Katoch ;" and each of these in turn comprises several subordinate *als* or surnames. In the same manner

¹ *Him.*, pronounced as *Hiun* in the hills, meaning 'snow.' Himra or Hiunta = 'snow country.'

the Jamwal clan has also four chief sub-divisions :—Jasrotia, Mankotia, Sambial and Lakhanpuria, each of which has its own separate *als*. In addition to these great sub-divisions the Jamwal clan has 24 *als* of minor importance, and the Katoch also quite as many. Among the Pathanias there are 22 recognized sub-divisions, among the Balaurias 12, and the Chambials 12, and so on ; the number of *als* or family surnames being probably a pretty sure indication of the antiquity of the clan. The number of course varies from time to time, as new families are founded and old ones become extinct. When a Rajput is asked by one who he thinks will appreciate these distinctions, he will give his own family surname. To a stranger he offers no detail but simply calls himself a Rajput. All the members of these 22 clans are now distinguished by the honorific title of *Mian*, said to have been conferred on their ancestors by the Emperor Jahangir. The title, which has now practically become a caste name, is of course Muhammadan, and is of Persian derivation.

The following are the family surnames or clan names of the Muhammadan States of the Central Group. Those of the Western Group have not been ascertained :—

<i>Country.</i>	<i>Clan.</i>
Kashtwar.	Kashtwaria.
Bhimbar.	Chibh.
Khariali.	Chibh.
Punch.	Mangral or Maghral.
Rajauri.	Jaral or Jarial.
Kotli.	Mangral.

So far as our records enable us to judge, the original rulers of almost all the Hill States of the Eastern and Central Groups were Rajputs. The information at our disposal also leads to the conclusion that in few, if any, instances was the founder of the dynasty a native of the country over which he established his rule. In most cases we have a history of invasion and conquest, and traditionally in almost every State the new ruler either came directly from the plains, or was a cadet of one or other of the royal families, which had already settled in the hills. In one or two instances the ruling family is said to have been of Brahman origin, but after acquiring power they were recognized as Rajput. The ancient rulers of Urasha were also Rajputs, and intermarried with Kashmir.¹

¹ The queen of Bhoja, son of King Harsha, was a daughter of the Raja of Urasha and mother of Bhikshachara,—vide *Rajatarangini*, VIII., 16-18.

It is interesting to note that the older and more important States bear names which, as in ancient India, were applicable both to the country and to the tribe by which it was inhabited. Such names are Kashmira, Durgara, Trigarta and Kuluta. It is impossible to say if the name was first applied to the country or to the tribe. In the case of Trigarta it was probably the former, if we may trust the traditional etymology, and in the case of Kuluta it was probably the latter.

In all these States the name of the capital was different from that of the principality. The States of later origin were generally named after the capital, and when that was changed the name of the State was changed with it. Thus Chamba has received its name from its present capital, the ancient Champa. Other instances are Balor (Vallapura), Bhadrawah (Bhadrawakasa), Kashtwar (Kashtavata). Nurpur, Mandi, Suket, Bhadu, Jasrota, Samba and several others. Bandralta, Hiunta or Himta and perhaps Sumata are examples of smaller States, in which the name of the capital was different from that of the country. Sometimes the capital was simply called *Nagar* or 'the town,' being the only real town in the State, e.g., Nagar in Kulu, and Nagarkot in Trigarta or Kangra. In Mandi and also other States the capital is sometimes indicated in this way.

All the ruling families of the Kangra Circle of States belonged to the Chandarbansi, or Lunar Race of Rajputs, except Chamba which is Solar.

The original suffix, or second member of the name in each family, was *Chandra* in Kangra and Chanehni; and *Pala* in all the other Lunar families; except Suket, Mandi and Kashtwar, in which it was *Sena*. In Chamba it was *Varman* and in Jammu and the allied off-shoots it was *Dev* (*Deva*). In later times the suffix of *Singh* (Lion) ancient *Sinha*, was adopted in many of the families, both Solar and Lunar, beginning from about the fifteenth century. It is found as *Si* or *Sih* in some ancient Rajput families, as in *Chitor* in the twelfth century.

The suffix *Varman* was of very ancient origin, and was in use in the ruling families of Nepal and Kamrup or Assam in the seventh and eighth centuries, and also in the Chandel family of Bandelkhand; and a *Varman* dynasty ruled in Kashmir from A.D. 854 to 939. The suffix is still in use in the ruling families of Travancore and Cochin.

The Sanskrit word *Varman*¹ means "armour, coat of mail, shelter, protection," and as the second member of a compound noun it means "protected by." *Pala* means "protected, nourished." *Sena* means "army."

The title *Deva* was also a royal designation and was attached to the names of kings and queens in the masculine and feminine form, as in the inscriptions; in the same way as *Rex* and *Regina*. Hence came the Rajput salutation *Jaideva* (*Jaideva*) which is accorded only to Rajputs in the hills, and may have been originally the distinctive salutation of the Raja only. The Sanskrit form in full is *Jayatu Deva* "May the king be victorious."

By a ruling Chief, the head of a royal clan, the salutation is received but not returned, unless when offered by an equal in rank. Among Rajputs of the first rank below the Chief, it is freely interchanged, the inferior first offering the salutation; when accorded to them by their inferiors in social rank, whether Rajputs or others of lower castes, the salutation of *Ram-Ram* is given in return.

A distinction is made by some Rajputs between those of their own caste who do, and those who do not follow the plough, the salutation being accorded only to the latter and denied to the former, even when of noble descent.²

In former times great importance was attached to this salutation and unauthorised assumption of the privilege was punished as a misdemeanour by heavy fine and imprisonment. The Raja, however, could extend the honour to high-born Rajputs not strictly belonging to a royal clan. Any deviation from the rules of the caste was sufficient to deprive the offender of the salutation, and the loss was tantamount to excommunication.

Considerable modification in the popular use of the salutation has taken place in more recent times, and many now receive the honour who formerly would not have been entitled to it.

In former times, as we learn from the copper-plates, an heir-apparent bore the ancient title of *Yuvaraja*,³ found in

¹ The suffix 'Varman' is pronounced as Varma, the final *n* being silent.

² "To the Rajput, war was the only occupation and the only weapon was the sword; the plough was the insignia of an inferior calling, and the contemptuous term *hal-bah* (plough-driver) was applied to any Rajput who engaged in it: involving social ostracism." The custom still exists and also prevails among Brahmans, but is now much relaxed—*Kangra Settlement Report*, pages 37-38).

³ The title of *Yuvaraja* is being revived in some States.

plates down to the sixteenth century. At the present time an heir-apparent, if the son of a ruling Chief, has the title of *Tikka*. Younger sons are called Duthain, Tirthain, Chauthain, etc. The title of Rajkumar is now coming into use.

The title *Mian* was originally given by Jahangir to the 22 Rajput Princes from the Panjab Hill States, who were hostages at the Mughal Court. This practice, as already stated, was initiated by Akbar to ensure the fidelity of the hill Chiefs. Later on the title became the distinctive appellation of all members of the 22 royal clans to which the Princes belonged. At the present time its application is more general, and it is popularly applied to any one of Rajput caste in the hills.

In former times a *Mian*, to preserve his honour, was under obligation to observe the following four conditions:—He must never drive the plough; he must never give his daughter in marriage to an inferior in social rank, nor himself marry much below his rank; he must never accept money in exchange for the betrothal of his daughter; his female household must observe strict seclusion. At the present time these restrictions have been much relaxed.¹

The history of these Hill States is one of almost continuous warfare. When a strong ruler rose to power, the larger States absorbed or made tributary their smaller neighbours, but these again asserted their independence as soon as a favourable opportunity arrived. These wars, however, did not lead to any great political changes. On the whole the hill Chiefs were considerate of each other's rights. Being all of the same race and faith, and also nearly related to one another by marriage and even closer family ties, they were content to make each other tributary, or to replace a deposed Chief by one of his own kinsmen. This happened when Raja Ananta-Deva of Kashmir "uprooted" Sala-Vahana of Chamba and put his son, Soma-Varman, in his place. This policy of "uprooting and replanting" is the reason why dynastic changes are seldom recorded, and some of the royal families of the hills can boast an ancestry unequalled by any royal house in Europe. In only three instances, in many hundred years, so far as known, was one State completely subverted by another.

¹ *Kangra Gaz.*, page 163. In Jammu, *Mian* has in recent years been disused in favour of *Thakur*.

But the main cause, why the political condition of the Panjab Hills underwent hardly any change in the course of many centuries, lies in the nature of the country. The extent of each State was, in original, determined by natural boundaries, the mountain ranges of the Himalaya, and though exceptional circumstances might sometimes lead to extension beyond or reduction within these boundaries, the State would ere long revert to the limits set by nature. There were, however, occasionally certain districts, not clearly defined by physical conditions, which were claimed by two neighbouring States, on the borders of whose territories they were situated, and these consequently often proved a subject of continuous dispute.

One of the earliest epigraphical records found in the Panjab Hills—the rock inscription of Salanu near Manglor in Mandi State—still bears witness to a battle between two Chiefs, probably fought in the fifth century of our era. It informs us that Maharaja Chandeshvara Hasti, the son of Isvara Hasti, built a fort after having conquered Rajjila in battle.¹ Nothing further is known regarding the princes mentioned in this inscription, not even the States or dynasties to which they belonged. The cognomen *Hasti* (Elephant), is not found in any of the ruling houses of the hills, which are known to history. We can only surmise that the contending parties were rulers of two neighbouring States. The history of Chamba is to a large extent a record of the wars waged with varying success against the adjoining Hill States. Up to the present time, the Chamba people consider it inauspicious to mention the names of Jammu, Basohli and Nurpur; when reference to these places is unavoidable it is customary to indicate Jammu and Basohli as the *Parla Mulk*, or country across the Ravi, and Nurpur as the *Sapparwala shahr*, or rocky town.

Our documents still retain the record of many a war waged between these Hill States. Raja Meru-Varman of Chamba speaks, in his inscriptions, of the "enemies in their impregnable castles," whom he overcame. Raja Sahiia-Varman is lauded for his valour in repelling the Kiras and Saumatikas as well as the Dogras, and in defeating the Turushkas.² Of later time we have ample accounts which tell of the invasions of the Basohli Rajas into Chamba, and *vice versa*, ending with the sack of Basohli, and of the war with

¹ *Annual Report Archaeological Survey for 1907-8*, page 265, plate LXXXIII.

² The name *Turushka* was originally applied to the Scythians and at a later period to the Muhammadans.

Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra, resulting in the death of Raja Raj-Singh of Chamba.¹

Considering the restricted resources of the contending parties, these wars must have been waged on a very limited scale. When, therefore, in our inscriptions, the victories of Sahila-Varman of Chamba are extolled, in terms which suggest a second Alexander, we must imagine something like the war between Kangra and Kahlur (Bilaspur), witnessed by the traveller, Forster, in 1783. He estimates the Bilaspur army at "about 300 horses and 8,000 footmen, armed with matchlocks, swords, spears and clubs, huddled together on two sides of a hill, in a deep state of confusion and filth." But, though limited in scope, these wars were not less destructive, relatively, than the great struggles between powerful nations. To realize this we have only to read the description given by the same traveller of the state of the country around Basohli, shortly after the invasion of Raja Raj-Singh of Chamba and his Sikh allies.² That, in Chamba at least, the ancient monuments bear but few marks of the destructive effects of foreign invasions, is undoubtedly due to the fact that almost without exception the invaders were co-religionists, who naturally abstained from injuring shrines and other symbols of their own faith. In later days the hill Rajas, not unfrequently, employed Muslim mercenaries, as, for example, Raja Ghamand-Chand of Kangra, whose Rohillas were probably responsible for the mutilation of the beautiful image slabs on the ancient temple of Bajaura in Kulu.

The political constitution of the Hill States is a subject of great interest, but our information regarding its earliest form is meagre and indefinite. That it was not everywhere uniform is fairly certain, though the general principles on which the administration was conducted were probably common to all the States. In the case of Chamba, whose history gives the fullest details, we learn something of the ancient polity from the copper-plate title-deeds. In several of the older ones, belonging to the tenth and eleventh centuries, are found lists of State officials, who are addressed by the Raja in the introduction to the grant. It is, however, a question of some importance whether the lists reflect the actual state of affairs in

¹ *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 101.

² Forster :—"A bordering Chief had invaded the Basohli district, plundered the inhabitants, and burned their villages. The Sikhs were called in to repel the enemy and defend the fort of Basohli, but after performing the required service they became pleased with their new situation and refused to relinquish it."

ancient Chamba, or whether the writers of the title-deeds only copied certain fixed forms, in use all over India, without any reference to local circumstances. The agreement between the Chamba lists and those of the Pala rulers of Bengal points to the latter conclusion. It is indeed very doubtful whether all the officials enumerated in the documents actually existed in Chamba. But though we must conclude that these lists cannot be regarded as authentic for ancient Chamba, we may safely assume that they are based on actual conditions in India generally, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and especially in Kashmir on which they may have been chiefly modelled.

For a full account of these officers we would refer to the *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pages 120—136. In the title-deeds are found such titles as Prime Minister, Great Record Keeper, Chief Justice, Councillor, Judge, Councillor of the Crown Prince, District Officers, also class and tribal names, such as Rana, Rajput, Khasa, and, lastly, caste names "from the highest Brahmans who hold a prominent position among the eighteen elements of the State, down to the Medas, Andrakas, fishers and Chandals." Of these the only title still in use is that of *Chata*, now *Char*, a District Officer, which has survived all the changes of the past, and is still in force to designate the principal official in a *pargana* or sub-division of the State. These titles are found only in the earliest title-deeds, and all reference to them disappears from the copper-plates after the eleventh century.

Of the essentially feudal character of this ancient political constitution we may feel tolerably certain, though this feudalism was of a primitive type and was at no time so highly elaborated as among Western nations.

We are indebted to Mr. H. W. Emerson for the following note on the subject :—

"The authority of the Rajas was of a three-fold nature,—religious, feudal and personal. He was the head of the State religion, venerated as divine, either in his own right or as vice-regent of the national god. He was supreme and sole owner of the soil, the fountain from which issued the right of the cultivator to a share of the produce, and he was the ruler and master of his subjects who owed him personal allegiance and service. The nature of the Rajas' authority was largely derived from their predecessors—the Ranas and Thakurs,—who, within their limited sphere, were invested with

the same attributes of primitive kingship. Indeed there is some reason to believe that the theocratic basis on which their rule was constituted was given fuller recognition in practice than has been the case in regard to the later Rajput conquerors of the hills. The gods of their kingdoms still survive as both territorial and personal deities, and in some parts of the hills the connection between them and the former petty chieftains is sometimes of great interest."

"The divinity of kingship, however it arose, appears to have been recognised from very early times in the Himalaya, and is one source of the intimate connection between State and Religion, which has always obtained. Occasionally, as in the case of Keonthal State, the Raja is identified with and worshipped as the national deity, but the more common relationship makes the god the rightful ruler and the Chief his vice-regent. Traditions vary as to the manner in which the vice-regency came into existence. In some cases the god consigns the care of the kingdom to his chosen representative, in others, as in Mandi and Kulu, the Raja renounces his sovereignty in favour of the god; but whatever the tradition may be the theocracy is clearly apparent, and is usually recognised in some outward form."

"Among the functions of the Raja, which may be attributed to this recognition of his divinity, may be mentioned his jurisdiction over caste. He enjoys the power of ordering excommunication from caste and can similarly direct the restoration of an excommunicated person to the brotherhood. In the latter case, after consultation with Brahmans versed in the Shastras, he prescribes the penances conditional on re-admission, and some of the rites are performed in his presence. When the members of the caste are agreed among themselves the Raja does not ordinarily interfere, but even then an outcaste can, and often does, bring his case before the Raja."

"As a further example of the divinity of kingship, a form of oath, common throughout the hills, may be mentioned. This is the *Raja-ki-darohi*, disobedience to which is regarded as treason. The Rajas frequently had resort to it as a means of constraining the actions of their subjects, and it is still employed both for official and private purposes. When pronounced publicly, it provides a simple means of ensuring obedience to executive orders, and certain officials are invested with authority to use it."¹

¹ *Mandi Gazetteer*, page 61-f.



Each principality formed a separate and independent domain of which the Raja was regarded as the sole proprietor, and the fountain-head of all rights in the soil. All the subjects of the State were his servants, and held their lands under obligation of military and other service, according to the conditions of their tenure. The nature of this tenure is clearly shown by the following extracts from the Kangra Settlement Report by Sir J. B. Lyall, which are probably applicable to all the old hill principalities :—" Under the Rajas the theory of property in land was, that each Raja was the landlord of the whole of his 'Raj' or principality, not merely in the degree in which everywhere in India the State is, in one sense, the landlord, but in a clearer and stronger degree. The Mughal Emperors, in communications addressed to the hill Rajas, gave them the title of *Zamindar*, i.e., landholders. Documents are preserved in some of the Rajas' families in which this address is used. The Raja was not, like a feudal king, lord paramount over inferior lords of manors, but rather, as it were, manorial lord of the whole country. Each principality was a single estate, divided for management into a certain number of circuits. These circuits were not themselves estates, like the *mauzas* of the plains, they were mere groupings of holdings under one collector of rents. The waste lands, great or small, were the Raja's waste, the arable lands were made up of the separate holdings of his tenants. The rent due from the owner of each field was payable direct to the Raja, unless he remitted it as an act of favour to the holder, or assigned it in *jagir* to a third party in lieu of pay, or as a subsistence allowance; so also the grazing fees due from the owner of each herd or flock were payable to the Raja, and these were rarely or never assigned to any *Jagirdar*. The agents who collected these dues and rents, from the Wazir down to the village headman, were the Raja's servants, appointed and paid directly by himself. Every several interest in land, whether the right to cultivate certain fields, to graze exclusively certain plots of waste, work a watermill, set a net to catch game or hawks on a mountain, or put a fish weir in a stream, was held direct of the Raja as a separate holding or tenancy. The incumbent or tenant at most called his interest a 'warisi' or inheritance, not a 'maliki' or lordship."

"The artizans and other non-agriculturist residents in villages held their '*lahri basi*,' or garden plots, of the Raja, not of their village employers and customers, and paid their cesses and were bound to service to him only. They were not

the only class bound to service ; the regular landholders were all liable to be pressed into service of some kind, military or menial. The Rajas kept a tight hold upon the wastes, certain portions of forest were kept as 'rakh' or shooting preserves, and trees, whether in forest or open waste, could not be felled except with the Raja's permission. No new field could be formed out of the waste without a *patta* or grant from the Raja. No Wazir or other revenue agent, and no *Jagirdar*, could give permission to reclaim waste. Such a power was jealously withheld, as it might have led to the growth of intermediate lordships. I have heard it said that from a feeling of this kind, Wazirs or Kardars were never chosen from the royal clan, and *jagirs* were generally given in scattered pieces. Certain rights of common in the waste round and about their houses were enjoyed, not only by the regular landholders, but by all the rural inhabitants, but these rights were subject to the Raja's right to reclaim, to which there was no definite limit. In short all rights were supposed to come from the Raja, several rights such as holdings of land, etc., from his grant, and rights of common from his sufferance."¹

In Chamba every landholder was the Raja's tenant, his holding was called a *nanwa*, that is, a name in the rent-roll, and each *nanwa* meant a servant to the State. The holding stood in the name of the head of the family, who was responsible for the revenue demand and State service. The amount of service due depended on the size of the holding, those owning one *lahri*—three acres or less—provided a servant for six months in the year, and those owning more for the whole year.

These were employed in three different forms of State service. Firstly, the respectable men of good families who paid revenue in cash only and were employed as soldiers or as attendants on the State officials. Secondly, those who paid revenue in cash and kind and were employed as soldiers, or in carrying loads for the troops on a campaign. And, thirdly, those who in addition to paying revenue in cash and kind were required to furnish *begar*, or forced labour in the capital.

Immediately below the Raja in rank were the feudal barons.² Some of these were Ranas and Thakurs whose ancestors had enjoyed partial or complete independence before

¹ Kangra Gazetteer, page 131.

² Chamba Gazetteer, pages 280, 171.

the founding of the State, and had subsequently been reduced to the position of vassals. Others had received their titular rank as well as their *jagirs* from the ruling Chief. In early times, as we know from the copper-plates, some of the highest offices in the State were filled by members of this class. Some of the higher officers, as also the heads of the various branches of the royal clan, must also have ranked as *Jagirdars*, as they still do, and all alike held their lands on feudal tenure, under obligation to render military and other service to their liege lord, the Raja. The highest landholders in the State at the present day are the *Jagirdars*, some of them representing branches of the royal clan, and others lineally descended from the Ranas of former times, all of whom may be called tenants-in-chief or *in capite*. In accordance with ancient custom and the terms of their title-deeds, they owe the State service as horsemen in attendance on the Raja, providing their own horses, and are bound to accompany him with their retainers on military expeditions or for other service. In recent years the obligation to retain a horse of their own has been commuted into a money payment, called *ghoriana*, the State being bound to provide a horse when required. The tenants of the Chief and of the *Jagirdars* hold their lands on the same tenure, but in recent years their service (*chakri*) has been partially commuted into a cash payment, called *chakrunda*, from the word *chakr*, a servant. The obligation to render service is still found, in one form or another, in almost every tenure and tenancy throughout the State. Outside the *jagirs* are the Crown tenants, also holding direct of the Raja, and rendering certain kinds of service besides paying revenue. Many of these sub-rent their land to a lower order of agriculturists, called *Jhumrials*, who are of three classes. The second class renders service only, paying no rent, while the third class consists of farm-servants to whom land is merely assigned in lieu of wages in cash. The first class holds land on a tenure which is essentially feudal, paying half the produce in rent, and giving service in cutting wood and grass, as well as at weddings and funerals in their landlord's family. Other tenants besides these also render service according to agreement.

We now come to deal with the State executive, in every department of which the Raja was the supreme authority and his will was law. Possibly the ancient bureaucratic system indicated in the copper-plate deeds may have been organized on quasi-constitutional principles, and the Raja may have been

expected to follow the advice of his high officers of State, but this is pure conjecture. Sometimes at any rate the Raja-guru, or royal preceptor, has been a strong check upon the arbitrary exercise of kingly power.

In later times¹ we know that the hereditary aristocracy, as such, had few or no administrative duties and little power or responsibility; the work of actual Government being carried on by the Raja, through high officers bearing the title of Wazir, who were deputed either to live in their *wazarats* or charges, or to visit them occasionally. These worked through the district and hamlet officials, and their powers were both judicial and executive. The hereditary barons retained considerable influence, but they exercised no direct authority even in their own fiefs, unless when appointed by the Raja to one of the higher offices in the State. Their power was probably much greater in ancient times, for we know from history and tradition that their allegiance was of an unstable character, and like their contemporary feudal barons in Europe they were often a source of danger to the State. The officers under the Wazirs bore different titles. The collection of the revenue was entrusted to a special revenue officer for the whole State, who in Chamba was called *Thare da Mahta* and through him the revenue demand was paid by the district officials and credited into the treasury. The military accounts were in charge of an officer bearing the title of *Bakhshi* or paymaster, who was also responsible for the internal administration of the forces. This title was till recently borne by the Chief Revenue Officer, but has now fallen into abeyance.

The Raja was the fountain-head of justice in his State, and in all cases an appeal lay to him and his decision was final. The only other judicial tribunal was that of the Wazir, but a subordinate officer, called *Thare da Kotwal*, had limited powers for the disposal of petty cases in the capital, discharging very similar duties to those of a Chief Constable. In the *parganas*, or administrative sub-divisions, the district officials dealt with petty cases locally by fine and imprisonment, there being a lock-up in each Kothi, as the head-quarters of each *pargana* is called.

In addition to these officers another officer called *Kotwal*, with a *Mahta* or writer, was appointed for each *pargana*, whose duties were fiscal and criminal, as also military. On

¹ *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 261.

him devolved the duty, in case of need, of summoning the zamindars for military service, whom he led in person. This office is said to have been very ancient. In each *pargana* also there was an official called *Jinsali* who had charge of the military stores of the *pargana*. In charge of each *pargana* itself was the *Chiata* or *Char*, with executive, judicial and revenue powers. This title was originally in use all over India, but now survives only in Chamba. Another office probably of later date was that of *Likhnehara* or local revenue officer; he gave assistance to the *Char* in collecting the revenue demand and also was responsible for the accounts. Next in rank were the *pargana* peons called *Batwal*, *Jhutiya*, *Ugrahika*, etc., who carried out the orders of the superior officers. Lowest of all were the village headmen or *lambardars*. The offices of *Char*, *Likhnehara*, *Batwal*, etc., still exist.

The material resources of the Hill States were always limited, and probably few of them had an annual revenue of more than four to six lakhs of rupees; many of the smaller ones must have had much less. Chamba is said to have had four lakhs in the middle of the seventeenth century. Kangra, however, was an exception, for Mr. Moorcroft tells us that, when at the zenith of its power under Raja Sansar-Chand in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the revenue was thirty-five lakhs. Jammu too about that time must have been a wealthy State. Bhimbar at the time of its extinction was worth nine lakhs. Many of the smaller subordinate States enjoyed a revenue of only a few thousand rupees. It must be borne in mind, however, that money was much more valuable then than now, food and other commodities being so cheap,¹ and also that the feudal service must have relieved the State of heavy expenditure, especially in time of war. We must, therefore, conclude that though the standard of living was much lower then than now, the material resources of the States were probably greater than at the present time.

That the Hill States were able to maintain their political status for such a long period was in great measure due to their isolated position, and the inaccessible character of the country. It is improbable, however, that they ever were entirely independent for any length of time. In the absence of epigraphical and literary evidence we may assume that the

¹ Mr. Moorcroft states that in Kangra in 1820, the finest quality of rice sold at 36 *pakka* seers per rupee and inferior qualities at 50 seers. At the present time the rate is 2 *pakka* seers. Wheat sold at 40 *pakka* seers and labour cost Rs. 2 per month. Porterage from Kangra to Lahore—150 miles—at the rate of Rs. 2-8-0 per *pakka* maund. Moorcroft, *Travels*, page 154.

Western Himalaya formed part, nominally at least, of the great empires of the Mauryas, Kushanas and Guptas, which followed one another in succession in Northern India. Among the early rulers of Kashmir we find the names of Asoka and of the three Kushana princes, Kanishka, Huvishka and Jushka,¹ and it seems probable that they, as well as Mihiragula, the Hun, at a later period, claimed supremacy over the Western Hills.¹ In the early part of the sixth century Trigarta was conquered by Kashmir, and at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit in the seventh century, it was subject to Kanauj. Urasha (Hazara), Parnotsa (Punch), Rajapuri (Rajauri) and other Hill States were then subject to Kashmir, and in the ninth century the supremacy of that kingdom had been extended from the Indus to the Satluj. Chamba was subdued, about A.D. 800, by a race of foreigners called *Kira* in the *Vansavali*, not improbably Tibetans, and Kulu seems to have been liable to inroads from the same people and was for centuries tributary to Ladakh. Kashmir and Kashtwar also had each at a later time a period of Tibetan rule. The Muhammadan invasions, which began in A.D. 1001, seem to have had little influence on the political condition of the hills. Kangra Fort was captured and plundered by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1009, but there is no evidence that these incursions penetrated further into the mountains, and till the early part of the twelfth century Kashmir claimed supremacy, as she had done at an earlier period, over the whole of the Western Hills, from the Ravi to the Indus. With the decline of that kingdom in the twelfth century, the Hill States regained their independence, and seem to have successfully maintained it for two or three hundred years. Kangra, however, must have been more or less subject to Delhi, for the bard Chand includes "Kangra and its mountain Chiefs," among the princes owing allegiance to Anang-Pal, the last of the Tomar Kings, shortly before the final struggle, in A.D. 1191-93, between Prithvi Raj and Muhammad Ghor.²

The territory between the Indus and the Jehlam, comprising the Kingdom of Urasha, was probably the first to succumb to Muhammadan rule. But the early Muhammadan rulers of India were too much engrossed in defending and extending their dominions on the plains to think of the conquest of the hills, which were for the most part left undisturbed.

¹ *Rajatarangini*, Stein, I, 101, 168, 289, 290, 294.

² Tod's *Rajasthan*, reprint, 1859, page 268.

Kangra probably lost all its possessions on the plains soon after the beginning of Muhammadan rule in the Punjab (A.D. 1021). Mahmud left a garrison in charge of Kangra Fort, and in A.D. 1043 the Hindu princes under the leadership of the Raja of Delhi retook it and set up a facsimile of the idol, which had been destroyed. The fort is said to have changed hands several times during the next five hundred years, but, if so, the Muhammadans were unable to retain possession for any length of time.

With the advent of Mughal ascendancy all the Hill States were compelled to bow to a foreign yoke. Akbar was at Kalanaur, now in Gurdaspur District, when news arrived of his father's death. He had been in pursuit of Sikandar Shah Sur, who retreated into the Savalak Hills and ultimately found a refuge in the strong fort of Mau, built by Salim Shah Sur within the Pathan (later Nurpur) State, which was besieged for eight months. On its surrender the Pathania Raja, who had supported Sikandar Shah, was taken to Lahore and executed. Early in Akbar's reign the whole of the Hill States became tributary to the Mughals, and soon afterwards a royal demesne was created under Akbar's orders, by confiscation of territory from some of the States of the Kangra group.¹ A large portion of the rich valley of Kangra was thus annexed and a similar demand proportionate to their area was made on the other States. These arrangements are said to have been carried out by Raja Todar-Mal, and in presenting his statement to his royal master, he is reported to have made use of the metaphor, that he had "cut off the meat and left the bone," meaning that he had annexed the fertile tracts and left only the bare hills to the hill Chiefs. This must have taken place previous to A.D. 1589, the year in which Todar-Mal died. The subjection of the hill Chiefs, however, was not complete, for several expeditions had to be sent against them during Akbar's reign, which overran the hills from Jammu to Nagarkot. It has even been said that Kangra Fort was garrisoned by Mughal troops in the time of Akbar, but this is contradicted by one of the Muhammadan historians of the time, and also by Jahangir, who distinctly state that Akbar was unsuccessful in his attempt to capture it. Indeed, it does not appear to have been really occupied till the expedition of 1619-20, in the reign of Jahangir, and only after a long siege during which the defenders were reduced to great straits. From that time onward, however, till 1783 the fort

¹ *Kangra Settlement Report of 1880, page 8.*

continued to be held by a Mughal garrison, under an officer of rank, with the title of Nawab. Jahangir visited Kangra in A.D. 1622, accompanied by Nur Jahan Begam, and was so fascinated with the beauty of the valley that he contemplated making it the summer residence of the court.¹ The foundations of a palace were laid, but the superior attractions of Kashmir led to the abandonment of this design. A similar tradition exists in connection with Jahangir's visit to Nurpur on that occasion, but the work was not carried out.

The first notice we have of Jammu is its capture by Tinur in A.D. 1399, but being practically on the plains it may have felt the impact of Muhamnadan rule earlier than other States in the interior of the mountains. This remark would also apply to the States between the Chinab and the Jehlam, all the Rajput rulers of which ultimately embraced Islam.

To ensure the fidelity of the hill Rajas, Akbar adopted the policy of retaining, as hostages at his court, a prince or near relative of the ruling Chief from each of the States, and Sir A. Cunningham says that in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there were 22 young princes from the Panjab Hills at the Mughal court. It was about this time that the title of *Mian* came into use. How it originated we cannot say, but traditionally it is believed to have been conferred by Jahangir on these young princes.² In Chamba it first occurs as *Mie* on a copper-plate title-deed of Raja Balabhadra (1589-1641), dated A.D. 1613, as one of the titles of his son and heir-apparent, Janardan. From that time its use seems to have spread, till in time it became the distinctive appellation of all the descendants of the twenty-two royal families of the Hindu Hill States. For nearly 200 years from the time of their subjugation by Akbar, the hill Chiefs were tributary to the Mughal Empire, but all accounts agree that the Imperial authority sat very lightly on them. Their prerogatives were seldom questioned, and there was no interference in their internal affairs. Indeed, throughout the entire period of Mughal supremacy, the Chiefs seem to have experienced liberal and even generous treatment. They were left very much to themselves in the government of their principalities, and were allowed to exercise the functions and wield the power of independent sovereigns. They built forts and waged war on one another without any reference to the Emperor, and sometimes

¹ This visit took place in the early spring of A.D. 1622.

² *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 88. The word *Mian* probably means 'Prince.'

even asked and received assistance in men and arms for this purpose from the Mughal Viceroy. It would seem, however, that in the case of war between two States, the one that got worsted would sometimes appeal to Delhi for redress. Examples of such appeals are found in the records of several of the States. For example, the oldest Persian document in Chamba is a *sanad* of the reign of Shahjahan, regarding a boundary dispute between Prithvi-Singh of Chamba (A.D. 1641-64) and Sangram-Pal of Balor, about the *pargana* of Bhalai, which was claimed by both States.¹ The dispute was settled by a second *sanad* in the reign of Aurangzeb in favour of Chamba, and by an Imperial officer to whom the duty had been entrusted by the Emperor. Each Chief, on his accession, had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor, by the payment of the fee of investiture, after which he received a *kharitah* or patent of installation, with a *khilat*, or dress of honour and other gifts, from the Imperial Court. A yearly tribute, called *nazarana* or *peshkash*, was exacted from the States, and this amounted to four lakhs of rupees in the case of the Kangra group in the reign of Shahjahan. In letters and other documents the Chiefs were addressed as *zamindar*, the title of Raja being conferred as a personal distinction. There seems also to have been much friendly intercourse between the Chiefs and the Imperial Court, as is proved by the letters and valuable presents received from the Emperors and still in the possession of some of the royal families.¹ Some of the Chiefs gained a high place in imperial favour, and were granted *mansab* or military rank in the army, and advanced to important offices in the administration. In one instance at least a hazardous military expedition was in large measure entrusted to a hill Chief, Raja Jagat-Singh of Nurpur, who in A.D. 1645 was sent by Shahjahan with a force in which were 14,000 Rajputs raised in his own territory and paid by the Emperor, against the Usbegs of Balkh and Badakhshan. Referring to this expedition Elphinstone the historian says :² "The spirit of the Rajputs never shone more brilliantly than in this unusual duty, they stormed mountain passes, made forced marches over snow, constructed redoubts by their own labour, the Raja himself taking an axe like the rest, and bore up against the tempests of that frozen region as firmly as against the fierce and repeated attacks of the enemy." Elphinstone was under the impression that the Raja of Kotah is referred to, but local tradition as well as

¹ *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 85.

² Elphinstone's *History of India*, page 511, of 1857.

literary records leave no doubt that it was Jagat-Singh of Nurpur. His health was totally impaired by the hardships he endured, and he returned to Peshawar only to die. His *mansab*, or military rank, at the time of his death was 3,000 personal with 2,000 horse, and his father, Raja Basu, and brother, Suraj-Mal, held similar high rank. Jagat-Singh was accompanied on the above expedition by his son, Rajrup, who remained in command on his father's departure to Peshawar. Rajrup was for a time Faujdar¹ of Kangra, and had a *mansab* of 3,500 personal and 3,500 horse, and his son, Mandhata, enjoyed similar rank, and was twice appointed to the office of Faujdar of Bamian and Ghorband.

Raja Prithvi-Singh of Chamba also held a *mansab* of 1,000 personal and 400 horse, an honour which was probably enjoyed by his son and his grandson. Several of the Guler Rajas also rendered distinguished service to the Mughal Emperors, and received high distinctions from them, notably Raja Man-Singh in the reign of Shahjahan.

Yet even such marked tokens of imperial favour did not keep the hill Chiefs loyal. Encouraged by the strength of their mountain fastnesses, they often broke out into rebellion and defied the whole power of the Mughals. The Rajas of Pathan or Nurpur were specially turbulent. One of them, as we have seen, was executed by Akbar, and later Raja Basu, or Bas-Dev, thrice rebelled against the same Emperor. In Jahangir's reign, however, he was received into favour and given a command in the army. His son, Suraj-Mal, was never loyal, and had at last to be driven from his kingdom and died in exile. But specially notable was the rebellion of Raja Jagat-Singh and his son, Rajrup, in 1641-42, when for six months they kept a large Mughal army at bay, and bravely defended the strong forts of Mau, Nurpur and Taragarh against an immensely superior force. Yet in spite of this, on their unconditional surrender, in March 1642, they were at once forgiven and restored to all their honours. During Shahjahan's reign the Mughal Empire reached the zenith of its prosperity and power, and the authority of the Central Government was felt and acknowledged in every part of the Western Hills. The hill Chiefs quietly settled down as tributaries by whom the Imperial edicts were willingly accepted and obeyed. Mr. Barnes tells us that in Kangra there

¹ The Faujdar probably had control over all the Kangra States and was responsible for the yearly *nazrana*.

Another Faujdar had control over the Jammu States, west of the Ravi.

are *sanads* still extant, issued between the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb, appointing individuals to various judicial and revenue offices. In some instances the present representatives of the families continue to enjoy the privileges conferred by the Emperors on their ancestors, and where the duties have fallen into abeyance, the honorary title is still retained.

With the accession of Aurangzeb the happy relations which had long existed between the Mughal court and the Rajputs came to an end. His intolerant policy stirred up bitter opposition in many parts of India and was resented by the Chiefs of the Western Hills. It is related of Raja Chatar-Singh of Chamba that, on receipt of an order to destroy the temples in the State, instead of complying he had gilt pinnacles put on all the principal ones in his capital, to show his disdain for the Imperial decree. The Kangra Chief was in rebellion about the same time and partly for the same reason, and the people still love to tell of the long and brave resistance he offered to the Mughal arms. But all was in vain, for he was overcome, captured and sent to Delhi. With the death of Aurangzeb in A.D. 1707 the period of decline began which heralded the downfall of the Mughal Empire. The Persian invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, and the subsequent struggle for supremacy between the Marathas and the Afghans, hastened the final dissolution, and brought about a state of anarchy in Northern India to which history offers few parallels. The actual dismemberment of the Empire began with the cession of the Panjab in 1752 to Ahmad Shah Duani, by his namesake, the Emperor of Delhi. Thereafter for years the province was trodden down under the heel of the Afghan, and the distress of those grievous times is reflected in the following couplet, which has come down to our own day :—

Khada pita lahedo.

Rahnda Ahmad Shaheda.

Only what we eat and drink is gained.

What remains is Ahmad Shah's.

With the cession of the Panjab the Hill States also came under the supremacy of the Duranis. Of the Western Group, Kashmir was directly under Afghan rule, from 1752 till conquered by Ranjit-Singh in 1819, and the associated States were tributary till the Sikh invasions began in 1818. But the Chiefs of Hazara were seldom molested; the country was too far out of the way to attract the notice of the Duranis,

and it was visited by their officials only when going to or returning from Kashmir. Another reason for this comparative freedom from molestation was, that the Chiefs and people were all of the same religion as their rulers, and being also warlike, the country formed a valuable recruiting ground for the Afghan army. /

The Central and Eastern groups of States were never more than nominally subject to the Duranis. Encouraged by the anarchy which prevailed in the plains, the Chiefs all assumed their independence and recovered the tracts of which they had been deprived by the Mughals.¹ In A.D. 1758 Raja Ghamand-Chand of Kangra was appointed by Ahmad Shah to the office of Governor of the Jalandhar Doab, and of the hills between the Satluj and the Ravi. The Rajas of Jammu and Chamba seem also to have enjoyed the favour of the Durani Kings, as shown by *sanads* and letters still in the possession of the families. Meantime the Kangra Fort was still held by the last of the Mughal officers, named Saif Ali Khan, who continued to correspond directly with Delhi. This fort was regarded as a place of great importance and the popular belief found expression in the saying, "He who holds the fort holds the hills."² Some idea of the strength of the fortress may be gathered from the fact that this brave Mughal officer, though completely isolated and holding nothing but the lands immediately beneath the walls, yet successfully maintained his position against all assailants for more than 40 years. From 1752 till 1764 the hill Chiefs enjoyed practical freedom, except for a short time in 1758, when they and even the Mughal Nawab of Kangra, were compelled to yield to Adina Beg Khan, Governor of the Panjab, first for the Mughals and then for the Marathas. This able man aimed at setting up an independent kingdom, and in this he would probably have been successful if his brief but brilliant career had not been cut short by death. He founded the town of Adinanagar, near Pathankot, which is named after him.

Soon after the last invasion of the Panjab by Ahmad Shah Durani in 1767, Afghan rule virtually came to an end, and the Sikhs then acquired political power. They had by that time formed themselves into the twelve *misl*s or confederacies, which preceded their consolidation into one kingdom under Maharaja Ranjit-Singh. One of these was the Ramgarhia *misl*, of which the Sikh chieftain, Jassa Singh, was the first

¹ *History of the Punjab* by Muhammad Latif, page 301.

² *Kangra Settlement Report* of 1889, page 9.

to invade the Kangra hills. About 1770 he made tributary Raja Ghamand-Chand of Kangra and several other States. His authority was, however, of brief duration, for in 1775 he was defeated by Jai-Singh, the head of the Kanhiya *misl*, who then assumed the sovereignty of most of the Kangra group of States. In 1775 Sansar-Chand, grandson of Raja Ghamand-Chand, succeeded to the kingdom of Kangra. About the same time, according to one account, the Mughal officer holding the Kangra Fort was removed by death, and Sansar-Chand then renewed his efforts to gain possession of the ancient capital of his kingdom. In this he was unsuccessful, and he called in to his help Jai-Singh Kanheya, the Sikh Chief already mentioned, who sent a force under his son, Gurbakhsh Singh. By stratagem the garrison was induced to capitulate, but, much to Raja Sansar-Chand's disappointment, the surrender was made to the Sikhs and not to himself. Another account states that the siege took place in 1781-82, and that the old Nawab was then still alive, but dangerously ill, and on his death in 1783, the fort was surrendered by his son. The latter account is doubtless the correct one, as Forster states that the Muhammadan officer still held the fort in March 1783, and the siege was going on. Sansar-Chand was only ten years old in 1775, and can have taken no part in the expedition of that year. Jai Singh thus got possession of the stronghold and retained it till 1786, when, being defeated by a combination against him on the plains, aided by Sansar-Chand, he withdrew from the hills, leaving Kangra Fort in the hands of its legitimate Chief, to whom it was thus restored 166 years after its occupation by the Mughals.

With the recovery of the fort and the withdrawal of the Sikhs from the hills, Sansar-Chand was left at liberty to prosecute his ambitious designs. He revived the claim of Kangra to the headship of the eleven States of the Jalandhar group, and arrogated to himself supreme authority over the Chiefs. He also encroached upon their territories, and seized by force all the lands which had formed a part of the Imperial demesne in the time of the Mughals. By these means he fully established his power and ruled despotically for twenty years, gaining for himself a name and renown which had never been approached by any of his ancestors. But his ambition carried him too far. Not content with what he had acquired in the hills, he aimed also at the recovery of the ancient possessions of his family on the plains, and even dreamed of a Katoch Kingdom in the Panjab. He invaded the Jalandhar

Doab in 1803 and again in 1804, but was defeated and driven back into the hills by Ranjit-Singh, who was then rising into power. Disappointed in his invasion of the plains he turned his arms against the State of Kahlur (Bilaspur), and seized the territory on the right bank of the Satluj. Thereupon the hill Chiefs, smarting under the many indignities heaped upon them, and fearing for their own possessions, formed a confederation against him, the result of which was his downfall and the extinction of the Kangra State.

How this was brought about may be briefly told. On the decline of the Mughal Empire the Gurkhas of Nepal, having made themselves masters of the whole of that country, conceived the bold design of bringing the Western Himalaya under their sway, and even dreamed of a Gurkha Empire in the plains. Previous to 1803 they overran and annexed the hill country between the Gogra and the Satluj, and subjugated or expelled the petty Chiefs who ruled that extensive area ; including what are now called the Simla Hill States, of which Kahlur or Bilaspur is one. The Raja of Bilaspur, acting in the name of all the Chiefs of the Kangra States, sent an invitation to Amar-Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, to invade Kangra and promised him their support. This invitation was eagerly accepted, and the Gurkha army crossed the Satluj in 1805 and was joined by contingents from the confederate States. The Kangra army which had been weakened by recent changes made a brave but ineffectual resistance, and the Gurkhas advanced into the heart of the country and laid siege to Kangra Fort, where Sansar-Chand had taken refuge. The fort was invested for four years, but all the power of the Gurkhas was unequal to the task of reducing it. Meanwhile they laid waste the country, and so dreadful was the devastation resulting from the protracted struggle that the people fled from their homes, all cultivation was abandoned, grass grew up in the towns, and wild animals prowled about the deserted streets. At length, rendered desperate by the misery and distress which had come upon his country, and seeing no hope of relief, Sansar-Chand, in 1809, sent his brother to Ranjit-Singh to ask for help. This was readily promised, but on condition that the fort should be surrendered. The Maharaja then, in May 1809, advanced into the hills, and being met at Jwalamukhi by Sansar-Chand, who had escaped from the fort in disguise, a treaty was concluded and he gave battle to the Gurkhas, defeated them, and drove them across the

Satluj. According to agreement he then took possession of the fort and of the sixty-six villages in the Kangra Valley which had formed a part of the Imperial demesne; leaving the rest of the State in the hands of Sansar-Chand, who was now reduced to the position of a feudatory. His downfall involved that of the associated States, and from 1809 they all became subject to Lahore. A Sikh garrison was left in the fort, and Desa-Singh Majithia was appointed first Nazim or Governor of the Kangra Hills.

With the rise of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh to supreme power the Hill States fell upon evil days. Had he been satisfied to make them tributary, it would have been no great hardship, for they had been more or less in subjection for centuries. But this did not meet his designs, which he soon began to disclose, and which involved the complete subversion of the hill principalities. "The Rajputs were an object of special aversion to him, for they represented the ancient aristocracy of the country, and declined to countenance an organization in which high caste counted for nothing; their existence therefore could not be tolerated and they were mercilessly crushed."

Previous to the ascendancy of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh only two States had been subverted, *viz.*, Lakhampur in Jammu and Shahpur on the Ravi, the latter of which had been disjoined from Nurpur in 1650 during the reign of Shahjahan, in favour of Bhau-Singh, a younger son of Raja Jagat-Singh. His descendants continued to rule till 1781, as already related, when the family was dispossessed by Jai-Singh Kanheya. They now reside at Sujampur near Madhopur in the receipt of a small pension from Government. No further change took place in the Kangra Hills till 1811, when the small chiefship of Kotla was annexed. It had always been subordinate either to Guler, or Nurpur, and probably formed a part of the Imperial demesne. On the decline of Mughal rule it was seized, in 1785, by Dhian-Singh, Wazir of Guler, who set up an independent principality, and offered a successful resistance to Sansar-Chand in the height of his power. In 1811 Desa-Singh Majithia was sent against him by Ranjit-Singh, and the strong fort was reduced within a week, the State being conferred on the victor in *jagir* as a reward for his bravery. Of the older States Guler was the first to feel the weight of Ranjit-Singh's hand. In 1813 the Raja was ordered to send his forces to assist the Sikhs in some military

operations on the Indus, and the country being thus defenceless the Chief was summoned to Lahore and compelled to surrender it. A *jagir* was offered and refused, but the Raja was permitted to retain a yearly revenue of Rs. 20,000 which he had assigned for the support of his family. These lands still form the estate of the family, who reside at Nandpur near Haripur, the old capital. The Raja of Guler is the first Viceregal Darbari in Kangra.

Ranjit-Singh had now fully decided upon the subversion of all the Hill States, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to carry out his purpose. In the end of 1815 a great assembly of the Sikh army was held at Sialkot, to which all the Sikh Sardars and hill Chiefs were summoned. The Rajas of Nurpur and Jaswan failed to attend, and a fine was deliberately imposed upon them which it was beyond their ability to pay. The Jaswan Raja quietly surrendered his State on receiving a *jagir* of Rs. 12,000 yearly value, which the family still enjoys. Raja Bir-Singh of Nurpur was cast in a firmer mould. He went to Lahore and did his utmost to meet the unjust demand, even to the mortgage and sale of his family idols and sacrificial vessels of silver and gold. But even this did not suffice, and he was sent back to his capital in company with a Sikh force and compelled to give up his State. A *jagir* was offered which he indignantly declined. He then fled to Chamba and raised an army to recover his dominions, but was defeated and sought an asylum in British territory across the Satluj. After residing there for ten years he, in 1826, returned to Nurpur in disguise. His subjects rallied around him and he laid siege to the fort. A Sikh force was, however, despatched from Lahore, and on its approach Bir-Singh again fled to Chamba. Fearing the consequences to himself, Raja Charhat-Singh of Chamba gave him up, and he was detained as a State prisoner for seven years in the fort of Govindgarh at Amritsar. Having been liberated on the payment of a ransom of Rs. 85,000 by the Chamba Raja, to whose sister he was married, a *jagir* was again offered him and again declined. The value of the *jagir* was Rs. 25,000 a year, and the offer was made through Raja Dhian-Singh of Jammu, who was then Prime Minister of the kingdom. Dhian-Singh had the *sanad* or patent in his possession duly signed and sealed under the sign manual of the Maharaja, and before making it over he wished to extort from the Nurpur Chief

the coveted salutation of "Jaidea"¹ accorded to a ruling Chief, the offering of which by Bir-Singh would have been an acknowledgment of Dhian-Singh's regal status and of his own inferiority. This Bir-Singh refused to do. He was a Raja by hereditary right, while Dhian-Singh held the title only by favour of Ranjit-Singh, and the proud Rajput Chief would not compromise his honour even for the sake of affluence, nor accord a salutation that would have involved a degradation of himself in the eyes of the brotherhood.² He had therefore again to retire into exile. For some years he resided in Chamba, and was there at the time of Mr. Vigne's visit in 1839.³

In 1845 the first Sikh war began, and the Khalsa crossed the Satluj to dash itself to pieces against the serried ranks of the British. The news spread far and wide over the Panjab and Bir-Singh's hour had come. Gathering an army from his native hills he, in 1846, once more laid siege to the Nurpur Fort, the ancient home of his family. But the dream of his life was never to be realized, and the story of his last brave effort to recover his kingdom is full of the pathos of despair. By that time he was an old man enfeebled by privation and hardship. The strain was too great for one of his years, and he died before the walls. The only consolation granted to him was the knowledge that the power of his enemies had been completely broken, and that to this extent at least his wrongs had been avenged. His descendants live near Nurpur on a small pension assigned them by Government. The present Raja is an honorary magistrate in the Kangra District.

The annexation of the other States followed in rapid succession. In 1818 the reigning Raja of Datarpur died, and his son was compelled to surrender the State and accept a *jagir* instead. The family resides at Datarpur and Pirthipur in Hoshiarpur. Siba State was saved from a similar fate only by the fact that Raja Dhian-Singh, the minister, had obtained two princesses of the ruling family in marriage. The principality was, however, reduced to the status of a *jagir* and divided between the Raja and his cousin, and these estates are still in the possession of the family, which resides at Dada-Siba. The Raja is third Viceregal Darbari

¹ *Skr. Jayatu Devah*—May the king be victorious.

² *Kangra Settlement Report*, Barnes, paragraphs 264-67-68-69-70-71.

³ *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, page 157.

in Kangra. Kulehr was annexed by Sansar-Chand of Kangra, but on the Gurkha invasion in 1806, the Raja took advantage of the disorder then prevailing to recover a part of his territory. This he continued to hold till 1825, when a Sikh force was sent against him, and after a siege of two months he consented to surrender the State, on the promise of a *jagir* of Rs. 10,000, which the family still enjoys. The Raja is fifth Viceregal Darbari in the Kangra District.

Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra died in December 1823.¹ From 1809 he had been a vassal of the Sikhs, and every year his independence was more and more encroached upon.¹ In 1820 Mr. William Moorcroft visited Nadaun and Tira-Sujanpur and received much kindness from the Raja. He speaks of Sansar-Chand as poor and dispirited and apprehensive of the designs of Ranjit-Singh. Fateh-Chand, the Raja's younger brother, became dangerously ill during Mr. Moorcroft's stay, his life was despaired of and arrangements were made for his funeral, his wives being ready to become *sati*. Happily, the measures adopted by Mr. Moorcroft were successful after all other means had failed. Great was the gratitude shown by every one, and especially by the Raja and his brother. On Sansar-Chand's demise his son, Anirudh-Chand, was allowed to succeed to the *gaddi* on the payment of a large fee of investiture, but the extinction of this ancient principality was near at hand.² On the occasion of a visit to Lahore, in 1827, Ranjit-Singh demanded of Anirudh-Chand the hand of one of his sisters in marriage, for Raja Hira-Singh, son of Raja Dhian-Singh, the minister. Anirudh-Chand pretended to acquiesce and asked permission to return home to make the necessary arrangements. This, however, was only a ruse, and a year after reaching Tira-Sujanpur he took his sisters, along with what property he could transport, and fled across the Satluj into British territory, abandoning home and country rather than submit to what he regarded as the disgrace of such an alliance. By immemorial custom among the Rajputs the daughter of a ruling Chief may not marry any one of lower rank than her father. Anirudh-Chand was descended from a long line of kings, while Dhian-Singh was a Raja only by favour of his master. He too was a Rajput of ancient lineage, and next to Ranjit-Singh the most powerful man in the Sikh

¹ Moorcroft's *Travels*, Vol. I, page 125.

² *Kangra Settlement Report*, page 12, edition 1889.

Kingdom. But all this counted for nothing in the estimation of the proud Katoch when weighed against the sacrifice of the family honour.

On the news reaching him,¹ Ranjit-Singh was much enraged, and at once came to Nadaun with a force to annex the State. Fateh-Chand remained and welcomed the Sikhs. He also mollified the angry feelings of Ranjit-Singh by giving his grand-daughter in marriage to Raja Hira-Singh, and was rewarded with the *jagir* of Rajgir. Jodhbir-Chand, a younger son of Sansar-Chand, also gave his two sisters in marriage to Ranjit-Singh. He too was rewarded with a *jagir* at the town of Nadaun, which is still in the possession of the family.

Anirudh-Chand died in exile in 1831, having first married his sisters to the Raja of Garhwal. His two sons returned to their native State in 1833 on receiving a *jagir* of Rs. 50,000 value, through the intervention of the British Agent at Ludhiana. The *jagir* was in Mahl Morian in Kangra, and there they resided till 1847—8. In 1835 Mr. Vigne met them, and states that they were living in two or three thatched houses. The elder brother Raja Ranbir-Chand showed Mr. Vigne two letters addressed to Raja Sansar-Chand, one from General Lake and the other from Mr. Moorcroft—the latter containing a warm appreciation of the kindness shown him during his stay at Tira-Sujanpur.

Kulu was the last of the Kangra group of States to lose its independence.² In 1812 a Sikh army had to be sent to enforce the payment of the tribute. The Raja fled from his capital which was sacked, but eventually he had to satisfy the demands of the Sikhs, as far as he could, in order to get rid of them. In 1816 a heavy exaction of Rs. 80,000 was imposed on the State, as a punishment for permitting Shah Shuja of Kabul to escape through Kulu on his flight from Kashtwar. From this time onward for many years there seems to have been no interference on the part of the Sikhs. At length in 1839 an army, under General Ventura, was sent against Mandi and a detachment invaded Kulu. The Raja submitted on the strength of fair promises and was made a prisoner, and treated with great indignity and cruelty. The people of Kulu determined on attempting

¹ *Kangra Settlement Report*, pages 12, 13 of 1889.

² *Ibid.*, pages 77, 78, 79 of 1889.

a rescue, and a force was soon got together which ambushed the Sikhs and released the Raja. Escape being impossible the Sikhs were in great straits, and the hillmen resorted to treachery to effect a surrender. Four or five low caste men, dressed as Brahmans, were sent into the Sikh camp, who, with their hands on a cow's tail, gave assurances of safety. Such a promise was not regarded as binding, and on their surrender the Sikhs were massacred to a man. This sealed the fate of the State. In the following spring (1840) a Sikh force occupied the country. The Raja fled across the Satluj and died in 1841. The Sikh Darbar selected a first cousin of the late Chief, and assigned him a *jagir*, in Waziri Rupi, which is still in the possession of the family. The Raja usually resides at Sultanpur in Kulu.

The remaining three States of the Kangra Group—Chamba, Mandi and Suket—though often in danger, succeeded in weathering the storm. They were, however, all invaded and subjected to heavy tribute. The army already referred to, which advanced into Mandi, was sent nominally to collect this tribute, but with secret orders to annex the country. The Raja met the demand as far as he could, and gave security for the remainder. He was then treacherously invited to the Sikh camp, made a prisoner and sent to Amritsar. Suket was brought into subjection at the same time, and General Ventura returned in triumph bringing the trophies of 200 forts belonging to the hill Chiefs. The Raja of Mandi seems to have regained his freedom soon afterwards, on the accession of Maharaja Sher-Singh, who was favourably disposed to the Hill States. As regards Chamba, it is recorded that, on one occasion at least, Ranjit-Singh himself advanced with an army to invade the country, but was bought off by a timely and costly present. The comparative immunity of the State from molestation was in great measure due to the personal influence of the able and faithful Wazir, Nathu, of the Bharatru family. He is said to have been a favourite of Ranjit-Singh's, owing to some personal service rendered on the occasion of the first invasion of Kashmir. One loss, however, was sustained in the annexation by the Sikhs of the fertile province of Rihlu in 1821. The surrender was made as the result of an agreement between Nathu and Ranjit-Singh in a document still extant, whereby Bhadrawah, a small State which had long been tributary to Chamba, was granted in exchange. It remained in the possession of the State till 1845, when

it was annexed by Jammu. The small province of Padar in the Chandrabhaga Valley, which had been Chamba territory for more than 200 years, was also annexed by Raja Gulab Singh in 1836.

On the conclusion of the first Sikh War the treaty of peace signed at Lahore on 9th March, 1846, transferred to the British Government, in perpetual sovereignty, the Jalandhar Doab and the hill country between the Bias and the Satluj. A war indemnity of a crore and-a-half of rupees was also demanded, and the Sikh Darbar, being unable to pay, agreed to cede the hill country between the Bias and the Indus as the equivalent of one crore, promising to pay the remainder in cash. By a separate treaty concluded on 11th March the British Government agreed to respect the *bonâ fide* rights of the dispossessed hill Chiefs within the ceded territory.

The transfer of the Jalandhar Doab was not carried out without difficulty, for the Sikh Commander of the Kangra Fort refused to surrender his trust, and a force, including a battery of artillery, had to be sent from Ludhiana, then a military station, to coerce him, which was done only after a siege of two months. The Kotla Fort also held out for some time.¹ The dispossessed Chiefs of the Kangra Group of States also did not yield a willing submission to the new rulers. In 1816 after the second Nepalese War, when the Gurkhas had been compelled to retire to their original boundary on the Gogra, all the Chiefs of the Simla States were, according to agreement, reinstated in their principalities by Government, and this generous treatment encouraged the Kangra Chiefs to believe that in their case the same procedure would be followed. Great then was their disappointment on learning that such was not to be the case, and that the new paramount power meant to retain in its own hands all that the Sikhs had annexed. They all became disaffected, and when approached by the Sikh leaders in the early summer of 1848, and incited to join in the rebellion which was then maturing, they lent a willing ear to these overtures. They were promised that their States would be restored in the event of the British being expelled from the Panjab. In August 1848 Ram-Singh, son of the last Wazir of Nurpur, gathered a force, and, seizing the Shahpur

¹ *Kangra Settlement Report*, pages 14, 15.

Fort on the Ravi, proclaimed Jaswant Singh, son of the redoubtable Bir-Singh, as Raja of Nurpur. A British force was sent against him, and on its approach he evacuated the fort and took up a strong position on the hills near Nurpur, which was captured by storm. He then fled to the Sikh army in the plains, but in January 1849, while the second Sikh War was going on, Ram-Singh again appeared in the hills. He entrenched himself on the Dalla ka Dhar, east of the Ravi, which was stormed with considerable loss, two young European officers being among the killed. Ram-Singh was afterwards captured in Kangra and banished to Singapore where he died, but down to the present day the hill bards commemorate his exploits in song.

In November 1848 the Rajas of Kangra, Jaswan and Datarpur also rose in rebellion, but they were soon defeated, captured and banished to Almora. There Parmudh-Chand, the grandson of Sansar-Chand, died childless in 1851. The elder brother, Ranbir-Chand, had died childless in 1847. The present head of the Katoch family, Colonel Maharaja Sir Jai-Chand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., is descended from Fateh-Chand, younger brother of Sansar-Chand, whose life was saved by Moorcroft's medical skill. He resides at Lambagraon on the Bias.

The Raja of Jaswan was permitted to return from Almora about 1855 at the request of Maharaja Gulab-Singh, and was granted a *jagir* at Ramkot, formerly Mankot, in Jammu. In 1877 his original *jagir* in Jaswan was also restored.

The Raja of Datarpur was also allowed to return from Almora at the same time, but his *jagir* was not restored. A branch of the family resides at Pirthipur, in Hoshiarpur District, and the main line in Datarpur and Mandi State.

On 15th March, 1909, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General was pleased to confer the title of "Raja" as a hereditary distinction upon Jai-Chand, *Jagirdar* of Lambagraon; Jai Singh, *Jagirdar* of Siba; Narandar-Chand, *Jagirdar* of Nadaun; Ram-Pal, *Jagirdar* of Kutlehr, and Gagan Singh, *Jagirdar* of Nurpur—all in the Kangra District. This distinction had previously been conferred on Raghunath Singh, *Jagirdar* of Guler.¹

We now follow the later history of the Dugar Group of States, which, while nominally subject to Kabul from

¹ The Rajas of Jaswan and Datarpur were not included.

1752 to 1770, also were practically independent. The Raja of Jammu from 1750 to 1781 was Ranjit-Dev, a man of great ability and administrative talent.¹ Like Sansar-Chand of Kangra he, too, was not slow to take advantage of the anarchy that prevailed on the plains to extend his dominions. He asserted his supremacy over the other States of the Dugar Group, between the Chinab and the Ravi, and his power was felt as far east as Chamba, which was for a time subject to him. He also extended his sway over the plains to a point south of the present frontiers of Jammu State.

The town of Jammu was in a very prosperous condition during his reign, for the confusion on the plains diverted trade to the hills, and merchants proceeding to Kashmir and the North-West frontier adopted a route which entered the outer hills near Nahan, passed through Bilaspur, Haripur and Nurpur to Basohli and then on to Jammu.² Many others besides, artisans as well as merchants, retired into the hills, where they could prosecute their various callings in security and peace. To all alike, Hindu or Muhammadan, Ranjit-Dev extended a welcome, and his capital grew and flourished. But he was not allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of the extensive kingdom which he had built up. Jammu was first invaded by Bhamma Singh in 1761 and Hari Singh in 1762, both of the Bhangi *misl*, and the capital was plundered. The Sikhs were, however, soon compelled to retire before a fresh invasion of the Afghans under Ahmad Shah in 1764, and for twelve years there was peace. A second inroad was invited in 1774 by dissensions in the Jammu royal family. Ranjit-Dev was at variance with his elder son, Brajraj-Dev, and wanted to pass him over, in the succession, in favour of his younger son, Dalel or Diler Singh.

Brajraj-Dev sought help against his father from Jai Singh of the Kanheya *misl* and Charhat-Singh of the Sukarchakia *misl*, grandfather of Ranjit-Singh. Ranjit-Dev called in Jhanda Singh Bhangi and was assisted by auxiliaries from some of the associated States. In the struggle which ensued no decisive success was secured by either side, and the Sikhs ultimately withdrew, leaving father and son to settle their own quarrel.

¹ *Jammu and Kashmir*, Drew, page 10.

² This route was followed by Mr. Forster in 1783.

The next inroad occurred in 1782 under Maha-Singh Sukarchakia, father of Ranjit-Singh. By this time Ranjit-Dev was dead and his son, Brajraj-Dev, a man of weak character and profligate habits, did not attempt any resistance, but fled into the interior of the mountains. The city of Jammu was plundered and burnt and the country laid waste, and this was followed by a dreadful famine which caused much distress. The State was also laid under a yearly tribute of Rs. 30,000. From this time till 1797 Jammu seems to have enjoyed comparative quiet, but the State was completely subject to the Sikhs. Brajraj-Dev was killed in battle in 1787, and was succeeded by his son, Sampuran-Dev. Finally, the State was annexed to the Sikh Kingdom in 1816. The family resides at Khrota in the Gurdaspur District.

Meanwhile many of the associated States of the Dugar Group had already become tributary to the Sikhs, some as early as 1788; and in 1808 almost all of them came under the control of Ranjit-Singh.

The States between the Chinab and the Jehlam retained their independence longest. Khariāli was invaded and conquered in 1810, and a *jagir* of Rs. 4,000 was assigned to the ruling family in Jammu territory, a smaller property being afterwards granted in British territory. The family resides in the Jammu State, and eighteen members of it were recently in Government service, chiefly as officers in the Native Army. Aknur was subdued in 1808 and finally annexed in 1812, and the family still reside in their old capital as *jagirdars* under Jammu. The last independent ruling Chief of Bhimbar was Sultan-Khan who made a brave resistance to the Sikhs in 1810 and 1812, but was defeated, and on his surrender he was detained a prisoner in Lahore for six years. He was then released and assisted Ranjit-Singh in his second and successful invasion of Kashmir in 1819. Being afterwards invited to Jammu, he was treacherously killed. By permission of Ranjit-Singh, his nephew succeeded to the Chiefship, but was dispossessed of most of his territory in 1840 and retired to British territory in 1847 on a pension. The family residence is in the Gujrat District where the head is senior Viceregal Darbari. Many members of the family are in Government service. Rajauri first became tributary to the Sikhs in 1812, and was ruled by its own Chiefs till 1846 when, on the cession of the alpine

Panjab to Maharaja Gulab-Singh, the reigning Chief elected to reside in British territory on a pension. The head of the family resides at Riblu in Kangra and a younger branch at Wazirabad. Many members of this family also are in Government service, both in the civil and military departments. Punch State was subverted and annexed to the Kingdom of Lahore in 1819 and Kotli in 1815. Some of the branches of these families reside in their own territory in the enjoyment of a *jagir* from Jammu.

The later history of Jammu and the associated States, subsequent to 1820, is intimately linked with the names of three brothers, representing a younger branch of the Jammu family, and descended in the third generation from a younger brother of Raja Ranjit-Dev. These were Gulab-Singh, Dhian-Singh and Suchet-Singh. About 1812 Gulab-Singh, having quarrelled with his relative, the reigning Chief of Jammu, retired to Lahore and entered the service of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh. His two brothers followed soon after, and they too received appointments. Being young men of ability and good address, as well as handsome in person, they soon attracted the notice of the Maharaja and were advanced to positions of influence. Gulab-Singh quickly rose to an independent command, and was employed in quelling outbreaks among the Chiefs of the Jammu and Kashmir hills. As a reward for these services he was, in 1820, raised to the rank of Raja, and received the Jammu State as a fief. Dhian-Singh, the second brother, was in 1818 promoted to the important office of *deorhiwala* or chamberlain, a position of great influence, as it rested with him to grant or refuse admittance to the Maharaja's presence. From this time his rise was steady and rapid, and soon after 1822 he too received the title of Raja, and the State of Punch, recently annexed, was conferred on him. In 1828 he became Prime Minister of the Sikh Kingdom,—an office which he continued to hold till his death in 1843. He spent all his time at Court while his brothers were actively engaged in the field. The third brother, Suchet-Singh, was a brave and dashing soldier, with little predilection for diplomacy and affairs of State, in which he seldom intermeddled. He too was made a Raja soon after his brothers, and the State of Bandralta or Ramnagar was conferred on him.

With the rise of Raja Gulab-Singh to power the fate of the remaining Hill States of the Dugar Group was sealed.

The first to fall were Kashtwar and Mankot in 1820. The Raja of Kashtwar had incurred the displeasure of Ranjit-Singh by affording protection to Shah Shuja of Kabul. It will be remembered that, when Shah Shuja was expelled from his kingdom, he sought refuge in the Panjab, and was invited to Lahore. There he was robbed of the Koh-i-Noor diamond and many other valuables by Ranjit-Singh. Some time afterwards he succeeded in making his escape from Lahore, and, travelling in disguise as a merchant, made his way up through the hills to Kashtwar. There he was cordially welcomed and hospitably entertained for two years. On hearing of his whereabouts Ranjit-Singh sent an order to the Raja to deliver him up, which was met by a refusal. Shah Shuja, finding Kashtwar unsafe, escaped through the inner mountains into British territory and reached Ludhiana. This action of the Kashtwar Raja, Ranjit-Singh never forgave. Gulab-Singh was sent against him, and on the Raja going over to Doda, on his own frontier, he was at once made prisoner and conveyed to Lahore. Ranjit-Singh promised to reinstate him, but never did so, and three years afterwards he was poisoned by his own servant. His descendants reside at Tilokpur near Kotla in the Kangra District in the enjoyment of a pension. The Raja of Mankot was simply expelled from his State, and the family resides at Salangari in the Kutehr *ilaga* of Kangra. Bandralta was seized in 1822 and soon afterwards was conferred as a fief on Raja Suchet-Singh. The family resides at Shahzadpur near Ambala. Chanehni was the next to fall. The Raja had assisted Raja Gulab-Singh against Kashtwar and was rewarded by being deposed. He appealed to Ranjit-Singh and obtained permission to reside in his own territory on a *jagir* granted to him, which is still in the possession of the family. The late Raja was nearly related by marriage to the Jammu family. In 1834 the last ruling Raja of Basohli died and the State was quietly annexed to Jammu.¹ About the same time a similar fate befell Jasrota. The main lines of the Basohli and Samba families are extinct. The Jasrota family reside at Khanpur near Nagrota in Jammu.

Bhadu was not annexed till 1840-41, and the family reside at Tilokpur in Kangra.

¹ Kalyan-Pal, born in 1834 after his father's death, held the nominal title of Raja till his own death in 1857, without issue.

Bhadrawah in the inner mountains had been tributary alternately to Jammu and Chamba. In 1785 it came entirely under the control of Chamba, and in 1821 it was transferred to that State by a *sanad* under the sign manual of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh. The ruling family was then expelled and the direct line has long been extinct. The only other State associated with the Dugar Group was Lakhanpur, which was annexed by Jasrota some time previous to the middle of the eighteenth century. It was afterwards taken by Basohli, and towards the end of the eighteenth century was annexed by Nurpur. For this reason probably, as we shall see, it was not included in the territory ceded to Maharaja Gulab-Singh under the treaty of 16th March, 1846. The main line of the ruling family has long been extinct.

From about 1825 the three Jammu princes seem to have dominated the whole of the outer hills between the Ravi and the Jehlam. Raja Gulab-Singh exercised the chief authority, and the central tract embracing Jammu, Riasi, Chanehni and Kashtwar, and also territories to the west of the Chinab were under his control. From his State of Ramnagar, Raja Suchet-Singh ruled over all the country to the east as far as the Ravi, including Basohli, Bhadu and Mankot. Jasrota and the outer Savalaks formed the *jagir* of Raja Hira-Singh, son of Raja Dhian-Singh, who himself ruled the State of Punch and controlled most of the country between the Chinab and the Jehlam. But the three brothers were all so loyal to the interests of the family and to each other, that no great necessity existed for drawing a clear line of division between them, and no such line seems ever to have been drawn.

Not content with his possessions in the outer hills, Raja Gulab-Singh carried his arms into the inner mountains, and conquered territory, nominally for the Sikhs, but really for himself. In 1835 a force was sent under Wazir Zorawar-Singh Kahluria, one of his ablest officers which overran and annexed Ladakh or Western Tibet.¹ In 1840 Baltistan was in the same way made subject to Jammu. An attempt was even made to conquer Tibet Proper, and in 1841 Zorawar-Singh entered the country with an army of 10,000 men, but was defeated and killed and his army almost annihilated. Gilgit was annexed by a Sikh force from Kashmir, in 1842.

¹ Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, page 137.

While the States of the Dugar Group were being overturned by Raja Gulab-Singh, those associated with Kashmir were also facing badly at the hands of the Sikhs.¹ After consolidating his power in the Panjab Ranjit-Singh turned his attention to Kashmir, which was still under Afghan rule, and in 1814 he made an abortive attempt to conquer the valley. In 1819 a second expedition was sent which was successful, and till 1846 Kashmir was a province of the Sikh Kingdom. The associated States in Hazara were first invaded in 1818, but a brave and determined resistance was offered to the Sikh arms, and till 1841 there was almost continuous fighting. The Chiefs availed themselves of every opportunity which offered to try to throw off the Sikh yoke, and the ablest officers in Ranjit-Singh's service were employed in subduing them. From 1842 to 1845 there was a lull in the strife, but on their becoming aware of the disorder in Lahore, as the result of the first Sikh War, the Chiefs again broke out into rebellion. This was the state of matters in Hazara in the beginning of 1846, when the country was transferred to Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu.

On March 16th, 1846, a treaty was signed at Amritsar between the British Government and Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu, transferring to him, in perpetual possession, all the hill country between the Ravi and the Indus, on payment by him of £750,000. The transfer included the Kashmir Valley and the whole of the hill country to the south, and the district of Hazara. It also included Ladakh and Gilgit, with Balistan and the Indus Valley down to Chilas. In making over these territories Government, by a special clause in the treaty, imposed upon Raja Gulab-Singh the obligation to respect the rights of the dispossessed Chiefs. In fulfilment of this obligation an agreement was made between Raja Gulab-Singh and the Chiefs, under the guarantee of the British Government, by which cash allowances were assigned them in perpetuity, and they were at the same time given the option of remaining in, or leaving, Jammu territory. Most of them preferred the latter alternative, and the Government then became responsible for the payment of their annuities, and to meet these claims certain lands at Sujampur, Pathankot and on the Bias were ceded by Raja Gulab-Singh. The Chiefs who elected to remain were to receive their allowances direct

¹ *Hazara Gazetteer*, page 125-ff.

from Jammu. The Khakha-Bamba Chiefs in the Jehlam Valley also came to a private arrangement with Raja Gulab-Singh, and were confirmed in their *jagirs*, under subjection to Jammu. The transfer of hill territory to Raja Gulab-Singh under the treaty included Chamba west of the Ravi, but a modification was afterwards arranged, through Sir Henry Lawrence, by which, in 1847, the Jammu State acquired the districts of Lakhanpur on the Ravi and Bhadrawah in the inner mountains, in lieu of Chamba, which then came directly under the control of the British Government.

As already stated, Hazara was included in the territory ceded to Maharaja Gulab-Singh, and the new ruler found it as difficult a task to control the Chiefs as the Sikhs before him had done. At length becoming weary of the struggle he approached the Sikh Darbar in the beginning of 1847, with a request to be relieved of Hazara, and asked in exchange territory of half the value nearer Jammu.¹ His request was granted and Hazara again came under Sikh rule, and after the battle of Gujrat on 21st February, 1849, was annexed along with the Panjab. By that time the Chiefs had come to realize the futility of further resistance and the firm and conciliatory policy of its first Deputy Commissioner, Captain James Abbott, soon changed these turbulent and warlike hillmen into peaceful and law-abiding subjects. One or two other changes remain to be noted in connection with the Dugar States. On 15th September, 1843, Raja Dhian-Singh, the second of the Jammu princes, was assassinated, and his son, Raja Hira-Singh, succeeded him as Raja of Punch, and was also appointed Prime Minister on the accession of Maharaja Dalip-Singh. There was, however, a party in the State who encouraged Raja Suchet-Singh, the third of the Jammu brothers, to aspire to the office of Minister. This caused intense ill-feeling between him and his nephew. On the invitation of those who favoured his claim, Suchet-Singh came down from the hills to Lahore on 26th March, 1844. His friends, however, all forsook him, and next morning he found himself with only 45 followers opposed to a large part of the Sikh army. Even then his dauntless courage did not fail him, and, refusing to surrender or flee, he and his little band of heroes charged sword in hand into the midst of the foe and

¹ The *ilagas* of Manawar and Garhi were given in exchange for Hazara,—vide *Hazara Gazetteer*, page 134.

perished to a man. On hearing of his death, his five *ranis* in Ramnagar placed their husband's turban before them on the pyre and became *sati*. Suchet-Singh died childless and his principality was merged in Jammu. In December of the same year Raja Hira-Singh also fell a victim to the fury of the Sikh soldiery, and dying without issue his own State of Jasrota lapsed to Jammu, and his brother, Jawahir-Singh, second son of Raja Dhian-Singh, became Raja of Punch. Owing, however, to the fact that, in the treaty of March, 1846, the State was not recognised as independent, it became subordinate to Jammu. This and other things caused strong feeling between Jawahir-Singh and his uncle, Maharaja Gulab-Singh, which lasted for several years. At length in 1859, after Maharaja Gulab-Singh's death, a compromise was arranged, and Jawahir-Singh abdicated and retired from the hills, on condition of a yearly payment of one lakh of rupees. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Raja Moti-Singh, on whose demise in 1897, Raja Baldev-Singh came to the *gaddi*. He died in 1918, and Raja Sukhdev-Singh is the present ruler.

We have now completed our historical survey of the Panjab Hill States. It is customary nowadays to depreciate the rule of the hill Rajas as having been harsh and oppressive, and to some the fate that befell most of them may not seem matter for regret. As compared with the condition of law and order now prevailing in India, the procedure of the Hill States doubtless left much to be desired, but it seems unjust to judge them by such a standard. The times were different from ours, and their procedure was in keeping with those times. A juster comparison would appear to lie with contemporaneous Muhammadan and Sikh rule, and here the advantage is decidedly in favour of the Hill States. The condition of the hills, even at its worst, presented a pleasing contrast to that of the plains. While for ages invading armies devastated the Panjab, the hills enjoyed a measure of security and tranquillity to which the plains were strangers. If the rule of the Rajas was sometimes harsh it was also paternal, and the relations of ruler and ruled were close and intimate. To his people the Raja was little short of divine, and they rendered him a ready and willing obedience. As Sir Lepel Griffin says,¹ "Princes, good and bad, beneficent and tyrannical, have

¹ *Rulers of India*—Ranjit Singh,—page 13.

ruled these States, but the people have accepted them, one and all, without a thought of revolt or resistance, and these same families will probably be still securely reigning over their ancient principalities, when the conquest of India by England will be taught as ancient history in the Board Schools of a distant future. Many of these chiefships are as poor and weak as they are obscure and insignificant: a ruined castle, a few square miles of mountain and valley, a few hundred rupees of revenue, and an army the soldiers of which may be counted on the fingers of one hand. It is not material force that has given them a perennial stream of vitality. They have struck their roots deep as trees grow in the rain and the soft air; they have, as it were, become one with nature, a part of the divine and established order of things, and the simple Rajput peasant no more questions their right to rule than he rebels against the sunshine which ripens his harvest or the storm which blasts it." Nor did the loyalty and devotion of the hill peasantry come to an end with the fallen fortunes of their hereditary Chiefs. Though their authority as ruling princes has long since passed away, they are still regarded with feelings of deep respect and attachment. Most of the dispossessed Chiefs of the Kangra Group reside in their ancestral home and among their own people. Those of the Dugar Group have been less fortunate, and with few exceptions they are exiles from their ancient domains and reside in British territory. Some of the cadets of these families have risen to positions of honour and distinction in the army and the Imperial Service, and it is to be regretted that they are not encouraged more frequently to seek an outlet for their energies and talents in this way.

The history of the noble Rajput families of the hills shows nothing if not the dauntless enterprise and readiness for responsibility that made the race, qualities which they have not lost, and which should fit them for taking an active part in the government, at any rate of their own people. But, conservative by heredity and association, they have been slow to realize that a capacity to pass examinations is the hall-mark of an administrator; and a false sentiment of honour debars them from competing in the examination-room with the more fortunate commercial classes. Here are young men born with the power of command and to the respectful homage of a large section of the community, who yet, for special reasons, have no worthy outlets for their

energies. Though they keenly resent their present degradation, their traditions and breeding forbid them to obtrude themselves on the notice of Government, and they prefer to drag out an existence on such pittance as have been vouchsafed them. For the most part it is to be feared they lead aimless lives, courting a dignity which they have not the means to maintain, and dreaming of a departed glory that can never return.

The story of their fall is pathetic, and the pathos is enhanced by the many traditions current in the hills and entwined with the memory of the hill Chiefs. Some of the States so ruthlessly overthrown were among the oldest that history records, and the ruling families possess genealogies more ancient and unbroken than can be shown by any other royal families in the world. Referring to the Katoch Rajas of Kangra, Sir A. Cunningham remarks:—"The royal family of Jalandhara and Kangra is one of the oldest in India, and their genealogy from the time of the founder, Susarma-Chandra, appears to me to have a much stronger claim on our belief than any of the long strings of names now shown by the more powerful families of Rajputana." Good reason then have they to be proud of their ancient lineage. The ancestors of many of them were ruling over settled States when ours were little better than savages, and the youngest of them can point to a pedigree dating back for a thousand years. In comparison with them most of the royal houses of the plains are but as of yesterday, and the oldest must yield the palm to some of the noble families of the Panjab Hills.

CHAPTER IV.

States of the Eastern Group—Kangra State.

The kingdom of Jalandhara or Trigarta, at the time of its greatest expansion, previous to the Muhammadan invasions in the beginning of the eleventh century, probably comprised almost all the country between the Satluj and the Ravi in the outer hills, except Kulu, and also the Jalandhar Doab on the plains.¹ At that early period the State seems to have included two great provinces, under the above names, of which the capital was at Jalandhara, with a subordinate capital at Nagarkot or Kangra. In somewhat later times its limits were restricted by the foundation of new principalities, either as off-shoots from the parent stem;² or independent States like Suket and Bangahal in the east, and Pathankot or Nurpur on the west. At all times, however, the hold of the State on the outlying portions of the territory must have been of a very loose character, and was probably nothing more than a nominal suzerainty over numerous petty Chiefs, called Ranas and Thakurs. That this must have been the case in the eastern part of the State, seems clear from the condition of the country as portrayed in the early records of Kulu, Suket and Mandi, where these petty Chiefs held practically independent rule down to a comparatively recent period. As regards the central portion of the State, around Kangra, there is not the same clear evidence of such a political condition in our records; but the existence of many Rana families in Kangra proper, even to the present time, seems to indicate that there too in ancient times numerous petty Chiefs wielded power, though probably reduced to submission at an early period. We read of a Rana of Kiragrama or Baijnath in the thirteenth century, who was counted worthy to intermarry with the royal house of Trigarta or Kangra.

After the Muhammadan invasions began, the territory on the plains was lost, and Nagarkot or Kangra then became the chief capital; and with the rise of new principalities on its borders at a still later period, the State was probably reduced to the dimensions still obtaining at the time of its extinction in A.D. 1828.

¹ Cf. *Ancient Geography of India*, Volume I., page 137, from which it appears that the kingdoms of Satadru (Sirhind?) and Chamba may also have formed a part of Jalandhara.

² These were—Jaswan, Guler, Siba and Datarpur, all off-shoots from Kangra.

Sir A. Cunningham was the first to draw attention to the history of the royal family of Jalandhar and Trigarta in detail, and the results of his researches are contained in the Reports of the Archæological Survey and in the *Ancient Geography of India*.¹ Mr. William Moorcroft had previously noted the existence of the *Vansavali* or genealogical roll, which he examined at the court of Raja Sansar-Chand in A.D. 1820. (*Vide Moorcroft, Travels, Volume. I, page 145*).

As already stated, the original capital was at Jalandhara. According to Sir A. Cunningham the name of the place is said to have been derived from the famous Danava Jalandhara, the son of the Ganges by the Ocean, who is considered the "Father of Rivers."² The extract from the *Padma-Purana* on the subject is as follows :³—"At his (Jalandhara's) birth the earth trembled and wept, and the three worlds resounded, and Brahma having broken the seal of meditation and having perceived the universe to be lost in terror, mounted his *hansa* (goose) and, reflecting on this prodigy, proceeded to the sea. Then Brahma said, 'Why, O Sea, dost thou uselessly produce such loud and fearful sounds.' Then Ocean replied 'It is not I, O chief of the gods, but my mighty son who thus roars.' When Brahma beheld the wonderful son of Ocean he was filled with astonishment, and the child having taken hold of his beard, he was unable to liberate it from his grasp ; but Ocean approached smiling and loosed it from the hand of his son. Brahma admiring the strength of the infant then said, 'From his holding so firmly let him be named Jalandhara,' and he further with fondness bestowed on him this boon : 'Jalandhara shall be unconquered by the gods, and shall through my favour enjoy the three worlds.'"

"When the boy was grown up, Sukra, the preceptor of the Daityas, appeared before his father, Ocean, and said to him, 'This son shall, through his might, thoroughly enjoy the three worlds ; do thou, therefore, recede from Jambudvipa—the sacred abode of holy men—and leave unwashed by thy waves an extent of country sufficient for the residence of Jalandhara. There, O Sea, give a kingdom to this youth, who shall be invincible.' Sukra having thus

¹ *Archæological Survey Reports, Volume V, pages 145 et seq. Ancient Geography of India, pages 136-41.*

² In Hindu mythology the Ocean is usually called the husband, not the father of rivers, which are always personified as female deities.

³ From the *Uttara-Kanda* of the *Padma-Purana. Researches in Mythology, Appendix, page 457, Col. Vans Kennedy, and A. S. R., Volume V, page 145.*

spoken, the Ocean sportively withdrew his waves and exposed, devoid of water, a country extending 300 *yojanas* in length, which became celebrated under the name of 'the Holy Jalandhara.' "

Sir A. Cunningham¹ was of opinion that the passage quoted had reference to the physical features of the Indo-Gangetic river plain, of which the plains of Jalandhara form the junction point; and which were once covered by the Ocean: and that the legend of Jalandhara is rather a traditional remembrance of the curious physical fact than the invention of the Puranic author.

The account of the Titan's death is contained in the *Jalandhara Purana*, and is supported by local tradition. Cunningham's version is as follows:²—"The invincibility of Jalandhara was derived from the spotless purity of his wife, *Vrinda*, which was overcome by the fraud of Vishnu in personating her husband. The Titan was then conquered by Siva who cut off his head, but the head quickly rejoined the trunk, and repeatedly regained its wonted place, after having been dissevered by Siva. To prevent this continuous resuscitation, Siva buried the giant under ground, and so vast was his size that his body covered a circuit of 48 *kos*, or about 64 miles, which is said to be the exact extent of the present pilgrims' route, called *Jalandhara Tirath*. But as all the places of note in this line of pilgrimage lie to the north of the Bias river, with the single exception of Kalesar, on its south bank, the city of Jalandhara, which derives its name from the Titan, is most inexplicably excluded from the holy circuit. That this was not the case in former times is quite certain, as the Hindu name of the district, in which the town of Jalandhara is situated, is *Jalandhara-pitha* or Jalandhar's back. The story which I heard in 1846, when I first visited the Kangra Valley, placed the head only of the Titan to the north of the Bias, with his mouth at Jwalamukhi, while his body covered the whole extent of country lying between the Bias and the Satluj; his back being immediately beneath the district of Jalandhar and his feet at Multan."

"A glance at the map will show that this version of the legend must have originated in the shape of the country, as defined by its two limiting rivers; not unlike that of the constellation of Orion. From Nadaun to the south of Jwalamukhi, that is, just below the Titan's mouth, the Sutlej and

¹ *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, pages 145-46, 7, 8.

² *Ibid.*, pages 146-47.

Bias approach each other, within 24 miles, to form his neck. Both rivers then recede from each other, until they are 96 miles apart, at Rupar and Adinanagar, which form the two shoulders. The two rivers now join at Firozpur, but only a few centuries ago they did not approach each other, nearer than 16 miles, between Kasur and Firozpur, where they formed the giant's waist, and then ran parallel courses, like a pair of legs down to Multan."

Another version of the legend is as follows: "Jalandhara was a *rakash* or demon who would not allow the Doab, now called by his name, to be inhabited. Bhagwan or Vishnu took the form of a dwarf (*ban-rüp*) and killed the demon, who fell upon his face, and the city of Jalandhar was then built on his back. The demon was 48 *kos* in extent, or 12 *kos* in every direction from the middle of his back, that is, from the city of Jalandhar. This was the first place occupied and all others are of later date."¹

A third version, locally current,¹ confines the demon's body to the Kangra Valley. According to it the top of the Titan's head lies under the temple of Nandikeswara-Mahadeva at Jindrangol on the Nigwal river. Between this place and Palampur, the pine tree forest is called *Vrindavana* or the forest of *Vrinda*—after the wife of Jalandhara: the head is said to be under the Mukteswar temple, in the village of Sinsol, five miles to the north-east of Baijnath: one hand is placed at Nandikeswara, that is, on the top of the head, and the other at Baijnath—near the head: while the feet are at Kalesar on the left bank of the Bias river, to the south of Jwalamukhi.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari* the Jalandhar district is called Bist-Jalandhar, an appellation which, Cunningham thought, may have been suggested to Akbar by the name of Jalandhar-pith. This is improbable.

The alternative name for the kingdom of Jalandhara in the ancient documents is *Trigarta*, meaning "the land of the three rivers," but the common interpretation of the name, as referring to the Ravi, Bias and Satluj, is open to question. In those documents the name *Trigarta* is always applied to the Lower Bias Valley—that is, Kangra Proper:² and on the whole it seems much more probable that the reference is to the three main tributaries of the Bias, which water the Kangra District. These are, the Banganga, Kurali and Nayagul, which unite at Haripur, under the name of Trigadh, which is the same as Trigar, and fall into the Bias opposite Siba Fort.

¹ *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, pages 147-48.

² *Moorecroft, Travels*, Volume I, pages 140-41.

The name *Trigadh*¹ was also in use for the Kangra State, down to the early part of the nineteenth century. We may, therefore, assume that Jalandhara was the name of the portion of the kingdom on the plains, and Trigarta of that in the hills ; and these names may have been used interchangeably for the whole kingdom. An almost exact parallel is found in the case of the two provinces of Jammu and Kashmir in that State at the present time.

Cunningham remarks on this subject as follows :²—" The name *Trigarta* is found in the *Mahabharata* and in the Purans, as well as in the *Rajatarangini*, or History of Kashmir. It is also given as synonymous with Jalandhara by Hema-Chandra, who says :—

Jalandharas Trigartah syuh

"Jalandhara, that is, Trigarta."

The *Trikandasesha* has :—

Bahliskascha Trigartaka

which Lassen renders by,

*Bahllici idem sunt ac Trigartici.*³

"But here the name should be Bahika, as we know from the *Mahabharat* that Bahi and Hika were the names of two demons of the Bias river, after whom the country was called Bahika."

It is certainly surprising that in the *Trikandasesha* the Trigartas appear to be identified with the Bahlikas or Valhikas, a name by which the Bactrians (Balkh) are indicated. They are mentioned in the Iron Pillar inscription of Delhi. It is, however, far from certain that Cunningham's emendation is correct. Bahika or Vahika, is the name found in the Epics to indicate the people of the Panjab. (Sanskrit, *Panchanada*). The word really means "the outsiders," "the aliens," and was evidently a term of contempt used by the inhabitants of the Gangetic Plains to indicate the Panjabis. This is clear from an interesting passage in the *Mahabharata* (Canto VIII, Chapters 44-45), in which the Bahikas are spoken of with scorn. That the name Bahika is derived from the names of two demons, Bahi and Hika, is out of the question.

¹ The name *Trigarta* may be translated "the three valleys," the word "*garta*" meaning a "hole" or "pit" or "deep hollow place" with or without water, and therefore a very appropriate term to apply to the deeply out valleys of the tributaries of the Bias. Thus probably the State came to be called *Trigarta*.

² *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, Punjab, page 148.

³ *Pentapotamia Indica*, page 52. At the time the *Mahabharata* was composed the capital of the Bahikas was at Sakala (Sialkot).

On the contrary these demons have clearly been invented to account for the geographical name ; and probably the same is true of the name, Jalandhara, which more probably was in the first instance the name of a tract of country.

The early chronology of Kangra State is largely a matter of conjecture. The *Vansavali* contains nearly 500 names, from that of Bhumi-Chand, the founder, but of the early Rajas for many centuries we know nothing. The first name which may be regarded as possibly historical is that of Susarma-Chandra, the 234th from the founder—called Susarman in the *Mahabharata*—who is believed to have reigned at the time of the Great War and figures as an ally of the Kauravas. All the names previous to that time we may regard as mythical. Mr. Moorcroft was the first to draw attention to the *Vansavali* which he saw at the Court of Sansar-Chand at Tira-Sujanpur, in 1820. He says:¹—"Sansar-Chand deduces his descent from Mahadev, and has a pedigree in which his ancestors are traced to their celestial progenitor, through many thousand years. I requested to have a copy of the document and some Kashmir Pundits were ordered to transcribe it against my return. The pedigree is written in verse, and contains in general little more than the birth and death of each male individual of the family." As we know, Mr. Moorcroft never returned to claim the document which had been promised him.

The great antiquity of the Kangra family is undoubted, and we may therefore conclude that, in the *Vansavali*, from the time of Susarma-Chandra, we possibly have to do with an historical record. Sir A. Cunningham says:—"The royal family of Jalandhara and Kangra is one of the oldest in India and their genealogy from the time of the founder, Susarma-Chandra, appears to me to have a much stronger claim to our belief, than any of the long strings of names now shown by the more powerful families of Rajputana." Sir Lepel Griffin too refers to the Rajput dynasties of the Kangra hills, of whom the Katoch is the oldest, as having "genealogies more ancient and unbroken than can be shown by any other royal families in the world."²

The first historical notice of Jalandhara, Cunningham says, is to be found in the works of Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, "where it is called Kalindrine or Ktalindrine, which should probably be corrected to Salindrine, as K. and S. are often

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 145.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, pages 137-38; and *Punjab Ethnography*, 1883, pages 220, 250.

interchanged in Greek manuscripts." Alexander's expedition terminated on the banks of the Bias, but he received the submission of *Phegelas* or *Phegeus*, the king of the district beyond the Bias river, that is, of the Jalandhar Doab. These identifications, however, are very uncertain, and cannot be accepted without clearer proof.

The mountain kings to the north of the Panjab are also referred to by Alexander's historians (B.C. 326). Cf. *Early History of India* by V. Smith, page 81.

Jalandhara is not mentioned in Sanskrit literature except in the *Hemakosa* (Sanskrit dictionary), the *Rajatarangini* and the *Uttara-Kanda* of the *Padma-Purana*. Trigarta is repeatedly referred to in Sanskrit literature, as in the *Mahabharata* where we read of "Susarman, the king of Trigarta," who was the ally of the Kauravas,¹ and attacked Virata, the king of the Matsyas, with whom the Pandavas had sought refuge. Apparently the Trigartas and Matsyas were neighbours. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, page 27) says :—"The Machhas or Matsyas, were to the south of the Kurus and west of the Jamna, which separated them from the Southern Pancalas." According to the account in the *Mahabharata*, Susarman, when about to attack Virata, marched in a south-eastern direction.² The original seat of the family is said to have been at Multan. After the Great War they lost their lands in Multan, and retired under Susarman to the district of Jalandhara, where they settled, and built the fort of Kangra.

The history of Trigarta is practically a blank down to the capture of the Fort by Mahmud, but the references found in the *Rajatarangini*, and the narrative of Hiuen Tsiang, establish the fact that it had existed for six hundred years previous to this as an independent State.

Jalandhara and Trigarta are several times referred to in the *Rajatarangini*,³ the earliest mention being towards the end of the fifth century A.D. In the second quarter of the seventh century Hiuen Tsiang passed through Jalandhara, which he describes as 1,000 *li* or 167 miles in length from east to west, and 800 *li* or 133 miles, in breadth from north to south.

¹ Vide Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, page 193, for mention of *Trigarta* in *Mahabharata* and Note 122 which says that they were in the Great War.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, page 138.

³ *Rajatarangini*, Stein, III, v. 100 and 285, and IV, v. 177.

"If these dimensions," says Cunningham¹ "are even approximately correct, Jalandhar must then have included the State of Chamba on the north, with Mandi and Suket on the east, and Satadru on the south-east. As the last is the only district to the east of the Satluj, which is included in N. India, I infer that it must have belonged to the kingdom of Jalandhar. With the addition of these districts, the size of the province will agree very well with the dimensions assigned to it by the Chinese pilgrim." At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Jalandhar itself was the capital, which he describes as from 12 to 13 li, or upwards of 2 miles, in circuit. The capital of Trigarta was probably at Nagarkot (Kangra) from ancient times, but the place is not mentioned in history till the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, by whom it was captured in A.H. 400 = A.D. 1009.

In the *Tarikh-i-Yamini*,² by 'Utbi, the Secretary of Mahmud, it is called Bhinnagar, but Ferishta refers to it as Bhimkot, or the fort of Bhim. These names are said to have been derived from the name of a previous Raja, who founded the fort, and probably the one referred to the fort and the other to the town.

The name Nagarkot, however, must also have been in use, probably from early times, and it is mentioned by Abu Rihan³ (Alberuni—A.D. 1017-31), who, Cunningham affirms, was present at the siege and capture of the place by Mahmud. This name also was probably meant to include both the town and the fort. A reference to the place under this name, and evidently drawn from older documents now lost, occurs in Ferishta, in connection with events which are said to have taken place about the first century of the Christian era.

An interesting reference to Trigarta⁴ is found in two Chamba copper-plate title-deeds, granted about A.D. 1050-60, but relating to events which must have occurred in the beginning of the tenth century. At that time Chamba was invaded by a tribe called *Kira*, assisted by Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumataka (Balor or Basohli). In the contest which ensued the allies of Chamba were Trigarta (Kangra) and Kuluta (Kulu). This reference is specially important, as showing that *Trigarta* was then the name of the tract now

¹ *Ancient Geography of India*, pages 137, 144, 145. Satadru probably Sirhind.

² *Elliot's History*, Volume II, page 34; and *Ferishta*, Briggs, 1908, Volume I, page 48.

³ *Alberuni's India*, 1910, page 200. Cf. *Ancient Geography of India*, page 140.

⁴ *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pages 186, 194. Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 76.

called Kangra, and under the abridged form of Trigadh or Trigar, it continued in use till about a hundred years ago or even less, after which it seems to have fallen into abeyance.¹

Alberuni² also refers to Jalandhar, in the itinerary from Kanauj to Kashmir, which then ran through the outer hills from Pnjour *via* Dahmala (Nurpur), which is called "the capital of Jalandhar, at the foot of the mountains." From this reference Cunningham conjectured that Dahmala had been annexed by its more powerful neighbour, Trigarta. It thus seems probable that the whole hill tract, as far west as the Ravi, had from ancient times formed a part of the kingdom of Jalandhara or Trigarta.

In more recent times Trigarta seems also to have been known as Katoch, though this name also may be ancient, and from it the clan name of the ruling family is derived. The origin of the name is uncertain. Mr. Moorcroft, who visited Nadaun in 1820, states that the Kingdom of Kangra then contained three provinces, *viz.*, Katoch, Changa and Palam. Katoch seems to have included the country around and to the west of Kangra, and we may perhaps surmise that this was the original name and the nucleus of the State; Changa, or more correctly, Changar, is the name of the broken hilly country to the south of Palam, and between it and Jwalamukhi, and Palam is the eastern portion of flat land lying between Kangra and Baijnath. As the designation of a separate province or district the name Katoch is now disused, but the fact that a hundred years ago it denoted a portion of the State, as well as the State itself, seems clearly to prove its geographical origin.³ Other derivations of the name have been assigned, which may be dismissed as fanciful. The names *Changar* and *Palam* are still in use for the tracts indicated.

The name *Kangra* also is of uncertain derivation, but probably of ancient origin, and may have been applied originally only to the fort. Popular derivations have been attached to the word, for example, *Kangarh*, meaning "the fort of the ear," pointing to the legend that it stands over the ear of the buried demon, Jalandhara; or possibly to the fact that the configuration of the ground bears a strong resemblance to

¹ In the *Prithiraj Raisa* (A.D. 1170-93), a reference to the tributaries of Anang-pal, the last Tomara Raja of Delhi, includes "Kangra and its mountain chiefs." Tod's *Rajasthan*, reprint, 1899, page 268.

² Alberuni's *India*, Volume I, page 205.

³ *Vide* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 139-40.

the shape of a human ear. The fort was famed all over India in former times and was regarded as impregnable.

There is yet another name for the capital of the State in some of the old records. In the Baijnath Eulogies, as already mentioned, the name *Susarmapura*, is found, and Dr. Bühler has rightly pointed out that it must be identical with Nagarkot or Kot-Kangra. The name points to the tradition that the Rajas of Kangra are descended from Susarman, the king of Trigarta mentioned in the *Mahabharata*. In the first Baijnath Eulogy (I, 31-32), we read of an astrologer named Balhana of Susarmapura, and also of an architect from the same place (I, 35-37). Again in the *Rajatarangini* of Jonaraja (Trans., 1898, Volume III, page 39) it is related that one Malla-Chandra, "belonging to the house of Susarman of Trigarta," having been exiled by his enemies, took refuge with Jaya-Sinha of Kashmir (A.D. 1128-1140), and distinguished himself against the Turushkas. Another passage from the same source relates, that during an expedition of Shahab-ud-Din of Kashmir, A.D. 1363-86 (*vide* Ferishta, Volume IV, page 459), "the Raja of Susarmapura out of fear forsook the pride of his fort, and found a refuge with the goddess." Evidently Kot Kangra is referred to, and the goddess must be the famous *devi* of Bhawan near Kangra.

In the second Baijnath Eulogy, Jalandhara and Trigarta are used as names of the same country. Jaya-Chandra, the overlord of the Rajanaka of Kiragrama (Baijnath), is called "the supreme king of Jalandhara" (II, 6), whereas further on the suzerains of Kiragrama are designated "kings of Trigarta," (II, 20-21) and Kiragrama itself is said to be situated in Trigarta (II, 10). Hridaya-Chandra is also called "king of Trigarta" (II, 18). The names thus indicated a well-recognized territorial area, at the time when the Eulogies were inscribed (A.D. 1204).

The earliest reference to Kangra by a European traveller is that of William Finch,¹ A.D. 1611, but he does not seem to have actually visited the place. It is contained in *Purchas's Pilgrimes*, and is as follows: "Bordering to him is another great Rajaw, called Tulluck Chand, whose chiefe city is Negarcoat, 80-c. from Lahore,, and as much from Syrinan,² in which city is a famous Pagood, called Je or Durga unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It

¹ *J. P. H. S.*, Volume I, No. 2, page 130.

² Sirhind ?

is a small short idol of stone, cut in forme of a man ; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue, and throwing it at the Idol's feet, have found it whole the next day, (able to lye I am afraid, to serve the father of lyes and lyers, however) ; yea, some out of impious piety here sacrifice themselves, cutting their throats and presently recovering ; the holier the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed, some (more grievous sinners) remaining half a day in pains before the Divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents or lost by themselves, which, having made their offerings, by dreams in the night receive answers, not departing discontented. They report this Pagan Diety to have been a woman, (if a holy Virgin may have that name), yea, that she still lives, (the Divell shee doth) ; but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this Peer. This Rajaw is powerful, by his Mountains situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visit She Selim."

The earliest European visitor to Kangra was probably Thomas Coryat, and on his authority Terry, the Chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe, A.D. 1615, refers to the place as "Nagarcot, the chiefe city so called, in which there is a Chapel most richly set forth being ceiled and paved with plates of pure silver, most curiously imbossed overhead in several figures, which they keep exceeding bright, by often rubbing and burnishing it, and all this cost these poor seduced Indians are at, to do honour to an idol they keep in that Chapel. The idol thus kept in that richly adorned Chapel, they called Matta, and it is continually visited by those poor blinded Infidels, who out of the officiousness of their devotion, cut off some part of their tongues to offer unto it as sacrifice, which (they say) grow out again as before."¹

"In this province likewise there is another famous pilgrimage to a place called Jallarmakee (Jwalamukhi) where out of cold springs, that issue out from amongst hard rocks, are daily to be seen continued eruptions of fire, before which the idolatrous people fall down and worship¹. Both these places were seen and strictly observed by Mr. Coryat."²

¹ In A.D. 600 an envoy was sent to India from China in search of the philosopher's stone and the drug of immortality, who refers to the hot and cold springs of the Punjab issuing from calcareous rocks, probably a reference to Jwalamukhi.

² *J. P. H. S.*, Volume I, No. 2, page 115 ; and Terry, *Voyage to East India*, page 82.

A somewhat similar description is given by the French traveller, Thevenot, in A.D. 1666 :¹—" They are pagodas of great reputation in Ayoud, the one at Nagarcot and the other at Calamac (Jwalamukhi), but that of Nagarcot is far more famous than the other, because of the idol, *Matta*, to which it is dedicated, and they say that there are some Gentiles that come not out of that pagod without sacrificing part of their body. The devotion which the Gentiles make show of at the pagod of Calamac, proceeds from this, that they look upon it as a great miracle that the water of the town, which is very cold, springs out of rock of Calamac, is of the mountain of Balagrate (Balaghat), and the Brahmans who govern the pagod make great profit of it."

The story about the sacrifice of some part of the body by the pilgrim is also related by Abul Fazal. He says, "Nagarkot is a city situated upon a mountain with a fort called Kangra. In the vicinity of this city upon a lofty mountain is a place, *Maha Mariy*, which they consider as one of the works of the divinity, and come in pilgrimage to it from great distances, thereby obtaining the accomplishment of their wishes. It is most wonderful that in order to effect this they cut out their tongues, which grow again in the course of two or three days, and sometimes in a few hours."

"According to the Hindu mythology *Maha Mariy* was the wife, but the learned of this religion understand by this word the power of Mahadeva, and say that she, upon beholding vice, killed herself, and that different parts of her body fell on four places. That the head with some of the limbs alighted on the northern mountains of Kashmir, near Kamraj, and which place is called Sardha. That some other members fell near Bijapur in the Dakhan, at a place called Talja-Bhawani. That others dropped in the east, near Kamrup, and which place is called Kamcha, and that the rest remained at Jalandhar on the spot above described."²

Nagarkot or Kangra is frequently referred to in the works of the Muhammadan historians, from 'Utbi (A.D. 1009) and Alberuni (A.D. 1017-1030) downwards, and more especially during the Mughal period, in the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan.

Among European travellers, as already stated, Thomas Coryat was probably the first to visit Kangra, in A.D. 1615 ;

¹ Thevenot, *Travels*, Part iii, Chap. 37, fol. 62. Cf. *Archæological Survey Report*, Volume V, page 167.

² Gladwin's *Ain-Akbari*, ii, 100.

followed, perhaps, by Thevenot¹ in 1666, and by Vigne in 1835. Forster in 1783 and Moorcroft in 1820, both passed through the outer hills but did not visit Kangra.

The origin of the Katoch royal line is lost in the mists of the past. Its claim to great antiquity is fully corroborated by the many offshoots which have sprung from the parent stem, and the great extent of country which formerly owned their sway.² "Throughout the lower hills," says Mr. Barnes, "there is scarcely a class of any mark that does not trace its pedigree to the Katoch stock. Four independent principalities—Jaswan, Guler, Siba and Datarpur—were founded by cadets of the parent line. The fraternity of Sadu Rajputs, with their seven Raos or Chiefs, who occupy the Jaswan Valley between Una and Ruper, claim to be descended from the same source. The powerful colony of Indauria Rajputs, at the other extremity of the Kangra district, to the west, boast that their ancestor was an emigrant Katoch. But of the founder of this ancient line we know and can know nothing, for all records of every description have disappeared. Even the infancy of the State and its gradual development are beyond the range of conjecture, and the earliest traditions refer to the Katoch monarchy, as a power which had already attained to the vigour of maturity."

As Chandarbansis they bear the suffix of *Chandra*, which they profess to have borne from the time of Susarma-Chandra, down to the present day. This we know to be correct from the coins, and inscriptions, as well as from the casual mention of some of the princes by Muhammadan historians, and the names can be checked from the fourteenth century downwards.

The first Raja according to local legend was not of human origin, but sprang from the perspiration off the brow of the goddess at Kangra. His name was Bhum-Chand, and he stands as the mythical progenitor of the Katoch line. The two hundred and thirty-fourth Chief in lineal descent was Susarma-Chand at the time of the *Mahabharata*, who ruled in Multan and fought on the side of the Kauravas. On their defeat he is said to have retired to Jalandhar, which he made his capital, and also built the fort of Nagarkot or Kangra.

The earliest historical reference, if it can be so regarded, to Nagarkot, is found in Ferishta's History,³ and it relates

¹ It is uncertain if Thevenot actually visited Kangra.

² *Kanara Gazetteer*, page 25, 1901.

³ Ferishta, *History*, Briggs, 1909, Volume I, page lxxviii.

to events which are said to have occurred in the first century of the Christian era. Where Ferishta got his information we do not know, but it may have been derived from older documents now lost. In his introductory chapter on the history of ancient India he speaks of a king of Kanauj, then probably the paramount power in northern India, who invaded Kumaon and overran the hills as far west as Kashmir. In the course of this expedition, which lasted for five months, he subdued 500 petty Chiefs, among whom is mentioned the Raja of Nagarkot. The extract is as follows :—" Ram Deo having subsequently compelled his enemy (the Raja of Kumaon) to give him his daughter in marriage, left him in possession of his country, and marching towards Nagarkot plundered it, and at length arrived at Sheokot Pindi¹ where, on account of his veneration for the idol Durga, which is situated at a small distance on the top of a neighbouring hill at Nagarkot, he halted and summoned the Raja to appear before him. The Raja would by no means consent, but agreed to meet Ram Deo at the temple, wherein the idol was placed. Thus the two princes met at the temple, when the Raja, having given his daughter in marriage to the son of Ram Deo, the latter proceeded from there to the fort of Jammu."

The next mention of the country, under the name of Trigarta, is in the *Rajatarangini* (III, v. 100), where it is stated that Sreshtha Sena of Kashmir bestowed the land of Trigarta upon the Pravaresa Temple in Kashmir. This is referred to the fifth century (A.D. 470) ; and again about A.D. 520, Pravarasena II is said to have conquered Trigarta. (*Rajatarangini*, Stein III, 285).

The visit of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang,² to Jalandhara, in March A.D. 635, is the most important of all the early references to the State. He describes the kingdom of *Che-lan-t'o-lo*, i.e., *Jalandhara*, as situated north-east of *China-po-ti* (Chinabhukti) and south-west of K'iu-lu-to (Kuluta) or modern Kulu. The position thus described seems to correspond with the Kangra Valley. He remained there as the guest of Raja Utito for four months before proceeding to Kanauj, and again halted at Jalandhara on his return journey in A.D. 643. Cunningham identifies the Utito of Hiuen Tsiang with the Adima of the *Vansavali*. Jalandhara was then subject to Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj

¹ Probably the temple of Bhawan in Kangra.

² Cf. *Ancient Geography of India*, pages 130, 504-6-7.

and on his way back from Kanauj the pilgrim was entrusted to the care and protection of the Raja of Jalandhara.¹

A long interval elapses, after the visit of Hiuen Tsiang, before another historical reference to Trigarta or Jalandhara occurs. It is found in the *Rajatarangini*.² In the reign of Sankara-Varman (A.D. 883-903), an expedition led by the king in person left Kashmir for the conquest of Gurjara (Gujrat), and it was opposed by the Chief of Trigarta, who perhaps was an ally of Gurjara. The reference is as follows:—"When he (Sankara-Varman), who had as the advance guard of his army nine lakhs of foot soldiers, three hundred elephants, and a lakh of horsemen, was wholly bent on the conquest of Gurjara, he caused Prithvi-Chandra (the lord) of Trigarta, who was afraid of his own overthrow, to be laughed at in his gloomy delusion. He (Prithvi-Chandra) had previously given his son, called Bhuvana-Chandra, as a hostage, and was come into his (Sankara-Varman's) neighbourhood to do homage. Then on seeing the army of that king, with which moved many feudatory princes, as it marched towards him, large as the ocean; and fearing to be captured by it, on its approach he turned and fled far away, failing in resolve."

Though Prithvi-Chandra's name is not found in the *Vansavali* yet we may accept the above as the record of an historical occurrence, from which it appears that Trigarta was then subject to Kashmir, which had extended its sovereign power as far as the Satluj.

That Kashmir held a widespread dominion in the western hills about that period, is proved by two Chamba copper-plate deeds of the middle of the eleventh century, already noted, in which a reference occurs to events which must have happened about the beginning of the tenth century,—that is, the very time above referred to.³ Chamba was then invaded by a foreign army, called "Kira" in the local Chronicle, probably Kashmir, assisted by Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumatikas or people of Vallapura (Balor) to the west of the Ravi. In the following century Chamba was subdued by Kashmir, the Raja 'uprooted' and another put in his place.

¹ Harsha-Vardhana's original capital was at Sthanvisvara, i.e., Thanesar.

² *Rajatarangini*, Stein, V, 143-7.

³ *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 76. Cf. *Ancient Geography of India*, page 90.

NOTE.—The Kiras were a tribe in the vicinity of Kashmir and are associated with Kashmiris in the *Rajatarangini*. *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VIII, v. 2767.

A little later the latter's brother was present in Kashmir among eight tributary hill Chiefs—from the Ravi to the Indus.

In the same plates there is a reference to the Turushkas or Muhammadans,¹ who were then engaged in the conquest of Afghanistan, preparatory to an invasion of the Panjab. About A.D. 870, the Turki Sahi dynasty which had ruled for many centuries over Kabul and the Panjab (descendants of Kanishka)² was subverted by the Brahman Wazir of the last Raja of the line, named Lalliya or Kallar, who founded the Hindu-Sahi dynasty, and changed the capital to Uda-bhandapura, now Ohind, on the Indus. In the conflicts with the Turushkas, as they are called, the kings of Kabul and Ohind seem to have had the help of contingents from the Panjab States, probably including Kangra and Chamba, for the latter chief is said to have distinguished himself in these wars.

At length, about A.D. 980, Kabul was captured, and soon afterwards the last bulwark against the Muhammadans was broken down. Mahmud of Ghazni succeeded his father in A.D. 997, and in A.D. 1001 invaded India. In his fourth expedition (A.D. 1009) Mahmud, after defeating a large Hindu army on the Indus, under the command of Anand-Pal of Ohind and Lahore, advanced into the Panjab, and, crossing the large rivers near the foot of the hills, laid siege to Nagarkot.² In Ferishta's history we have an account of the expedition, probably taken from the *Tarikh-i-Yamini* of 'Utbi, who was Secretary to Mahmud. He, however, was not present at the siege, though Abu Rihan (Alberuni) is said to have been. According to 'Utbi the fort was then called Bhimnagar, from a mythical ancestor of the Katoch family, possibly a former Raja, by whom it was founded, or perhaps from Bhim-Sen the hero of the *Mahabharata*. Ferishta calls it the Fort of Bhim, and by these two names we are probably to understand the fort and the town. Traditionally the fort is said to have been founded by Susarma-Chandra, soon after the time of the *Mahabharata*, but there are no remains older than the ninth or tenth century. As the fort was famed for its strength all over Northern India

¹ Elliot's *History*, Volume II, Appendix, page 403 *et. seq.* Cf. *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VII, No. 2, page 115 *et. seq.* The author gives A.D. 870 for the extinction of the Turki-Sahi dynasty and A.D. 1002 for the final conquest of the Peshawar Valley by Mahmud. It is improbable that Alberuni was present as he only came to India in A.D. 1017.

² *Tarikh-i-Yamini* in Elliot's *History*, Volume II, pages 34-35. The Turki-Sahi kings boasted of their descent from Kanishka.

frequent references to it are found in the Muhammadan histories, a full description, from the pen of Sir A. Cunningham, fittingly finds a place at this stage of our narrative :—

“ The fort of Kangra occupies a long narrow strip of land in the fork between the Manjhi and the Banganga rivers. Its walls are upwards of two miles in circuit, but its strength does not lie in its works, but in the precipitous cliffs overhanging the two rivers, which on the side of the Banganga rise to a height of about 300 feet. The only accessible point is on the land side towards the town, but here the ridge of rocks which separates the two rivers is narrowed to a mere neck of a few hundred feet, across which a deep ditch has been hewn at the foot of the walls. The only works of any consequence are at this end of the fort, where the high ground appears to be an offshoot from the western end of the Malkara hill, which divides the town of Kangra from the suburb of Bhawan. The highest point is occupied by the palace, below which is a courtyard containing the small stone temples of Lakshmi Narayan and Ambika Devi and a Jain Temple with a large figure of Adinath. The courtyard of the temples is closed by a gate called the *Darsani-Darwaza*, or ‘ Gate of Worshipping ’ and the gate leading from it to the Palace is called the *Mahalon ka Darwaza* or ‘ Palace Gate.’ Below the temple gate is the upper gate of the fort, called the *Andheri* or *Handeli Darwaza*. This is now a mere lofty arch, but formerly it was a long vaulted passage, which on account of its darkness received the name *Andheri* or ‘ Dark Gate,’ which is sometimes corrupted to *Handeli*. The next gate, which is at the head of the ascent, is called the *Jahangiri Darwaza*. This is said to have been the outer gate of the fortress in the Hindu times, but its original name is unknown. Below this are the *Amiri Darwaza* or ‘ Nobles’ Gate,’ and the *Ahimi Darwaza* or ‘ Iron Gate,’ which received its name from being covered with plates of iron. Both of these gates are attributed to Nawab Alif Khan, the first Mughal Governor under Jahangir. At the foot of the ascent and the edge of the scarped ditch, there is a small courtyard, with two gates, called simply *Phatak* or ‘ the Gates,’ which is occupied by the guards.”¹

The short description in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* (ii. 184-190) of the time of Shahjahan is also interesting. It runs thus : “ That fort (Kangra) is situated on the summit

¹ *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, pages 162-63.

of a high mountain ; it is extremely strong and possesses twenty-three bastions and seven gateways. The interior circumference is one *kos* and 15 chains, the length, one-fourth of a *kos* plus two chains, the width, between 15 and 25 chains, its height, 114 cubits. Within the fort are two large tanks."

The following reference to the fort is from the *Shash Fat'h-i-Kangra* probably written in the reign of Shahjahan :
"The fort of Kangra is very lofty, and stands on a very high hill. Its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong : in so much that no king was ever able to take it ; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient Rajas, that from the beginning up to this time, it has always remained in possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan kings who have reigned in this country.// From A.H. 720 (A.D. 1320), or the commencement of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din's power, to the year 963 (1556 A.D.), when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindustan, the fort has been besieged no less than fifty-two times by the most powerful kings and rulers, but no one has been able to take it. Firoz, who was one of the greatest kings of Delhi, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled all his efforts ; for at last he was contented with having an interview with the Raja, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kuli Khan Turkoman, entitled Khan-i-Jahan, Governor of the Province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Punjab ; but notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it. To be successful in such a great and difficult task was beyond all expectation ; but Providence has destined a time for all works, at which they must be accomplished ; and hence it was that the Emperor, notwithstanding all his efforts, could not obtain possession. It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahangir, under the influence of whose prosperous star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed."¹

The fort continued to be held by a garrison² from the most remote times, but had been evacuated sometime before the great earthquake of the 4th April 1905, in which extensive

¹ Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, page 526.

² The garrison was finally withdrawn on 1st June 1897.

damage was sustained, and it is now only a picturesque and interesting ruin. The people of Kangra have a very exaggerated idea of the strength of their fort in former times, which they firmly believe to have baffled the power of the greatest kings. This idea found expression in the following popular saying :—" He who holds the Fort holds the hills."

Mahmud was probably attracted by the prestige of the fortress, which was famous all over India, and still more by the fabulous wealth which was believed to be stored within its walls. There are two accounts of the capture, one by 'Utbi in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini* and the other by Ferishta. 'Utbi must have got his information at first hand from those who were present at the siege, on their return to Ghazni. It is as follows :¹—" On the last day of Rabi-ul-Akhir of the same year (A.D. 1009), the Sultan prayed God for the accomplishment of his wishes. When he had reached as far as the river of Waihind (Indus) he was met by Brahman-Pal, the son of Anand-Pal, at the head of a valiant army, with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and ash-coloured elephants. Fight opened its crooked teeth, attacks were frequent like flaming meteors, arrows fell from bows like rain, and the grindstone of slaughter revolved, crushing the bold and the powerful. The battle lasted from morning till evening, and the infidels were near gaining the victory, had not God aided by sending the slaves of the household to attack the enemy in rear and put them to flight. The victors obtained thirty large elephants, and slew the vanquished wherever they were found,—in jungles, passes, plains and hills."

" The Sultan himself (after the battle on the Indus) joined in the pursuit, and went after them as far as the fort called Bhimnagar, which is very strong, situated on the promontory of a lofty hill, in the midst of impassable waters. The kings of Hind, the Chiefs of that country, and rich devotees used to amass their treasures and precious jewels, and send them time after time to be presented to the large idol, that they might receive a reward for their good deeds and draw near to their God. So the Sultan advanced near to this crows' fruit, and this accumulation of years, which had attained such an amount that the backs of camels would

¹ *Tarikh-Yamini*, Elliot's *History*, Volume II, pages 33, 34, 35; also Appendix, pages 444-5-6-7-8. Ferishta, Briggs translation, Volume I, pages 46-7. The invasion probably took place in the winter of A.D. 1009-10.

not carry it, nor vessels contain it, nor writers' hands record it, nor the imagination of an arithmetician conceive it."

"The Sultan brought his forces under the fort and surrounded it and prepared to attack the garrison vigorously, boldly and wisely. When the defenders saw the hills covered with the armies of plunderers, and the arrows ascending towards them like flaming sparks of fire, great fear came upon them, and calling out for mercy, they opened the gates and fell on the earth like sparrows before a hawk, or rain before lightning. Thus did God grant an easy conquest of this fort to the Sultan, and bestowed on him as plunder the products of mines and seas, the ornaments of heads and breasts to his heart's content. The Sultan entered the fort with Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad Farighuni, the ruler of Juzjan, and all his own private attendants, and appointed his two chief chamberlains, Altuntash and Asightigin, to take charge of the treasures of gold and silver and all the valuable property, while he himself took charge of the jewels. The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure, and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coin amounted to seventy million royal dirhams, and the gold and silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred *mans* in weight, besides wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sus, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine, soft and embroidered. Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again, and there was a canopy made of the fine linen of Rum, forty yards long and twenty broad, supported on two golden and two silver poles, which had been cast in moulds."

The fort was then consigned to the care of an officer of rank, with a garrison, and the Sultan took his departure for Ghazni. On his arrival there he caused a carpet to be spread in the courtyard of his palace, on which were displayed all the jewels, pearls and priceless treasures which he had brought from India.

Ferishta's account supplies some additional details; it is as follows:¹—"The king in his zeal to propagate the faith, now marched against the Hindoos of Nagarkot, breaking down their idols and razing their temples. The fort, at that

¹ Ferishta, *Brigg's trans.*, Volume I, pages 48-49 of 1000.

time denominated the fort of Bhim, was closely invested by the Muhammadans, who had first laid waste the country around it with fire and sword. Bhim was built by a prince of the same name on the top of a steep mountain, where the Hindoos, on account of its strength, had deposited the wealth consecrated to their idols by all the neighbouring kingdoms ; so that in this fort there is supposed to have been a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones and pearls than was ever collected in the royal treasury of any prince on earth. Mahmood invested the place with such expedition that the Hindoos had no time to throw in troops for its defence. The greater part of the garrison was away in the field, and those within consisted for the most part of priests who, having little inclination to the bloody business of War, made overtures to capitulate, and on the third day Mahmood became master of this strong citadel without opposition or bloodshed."

"In Bhim were found 700,000 golden *dinars*, 700 *mans* of gold and silver plates, 200 *mans* of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 *mans* of silver bullion and 20 *mans* of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds and rubies, which had been collected since the time of Bhim, the details of which would be tedious. With this vast booty Mahmood returned to Ghazni."

To account for this vast accumulation of wealth, Cunningham supposed that it was the hoard of the Hindu-Sahi kings of Kabul and Ohind, who also ruled the Panjab. He says :¹—"There is no means of estimating the value of the ingots as the gold and silver are lumped together, but the value of the stamped coin alone amounted to upwards of £1,750,000. In connection with this great accumulation of treasure I may quote the statement of Abu Rihan (Alberuni), that the genealogical roll of the Indo-Scythian princes of Kabul for 60 generations was found in the fortress of Nagarkot by Mahmud's soldiers. From this statement I infer that the fort of Kangra must have belonged to the Rajas of Kabul for several generations, and that it was their chief stronghold in which they deposited their treasures, after they had been driven from the banks of the Indus. It is almost impossible that such a vast amount of treasure could have been accumulated by the petty Rajas of the Kangra Valley, but it is quite conceivable that it may have been the hoard of the Hindu princes of Kabul. Ferishta calls the amount 700,000

¹ *Archæological Survey Report*, Volume V, pages 155-6. The treasure from the temple at Bhawan must also have been in the fort for safety.

golden *dinars*, which would be less than half a million sterling ; but the account of the contemporary writer, 'Uthi, is given in royal *dirhams*, which were silver coins of fifty grains each. We know also that the circulating medium of the Panjab in the time of Mahmud consisted of the silver pieces of the Hindu Rajas of Kabul, weighing about 50 grains each. As many thousands of these coins have been found throughout the Panjab, while not a single gold piece of these kings has yet been discovered, I am satisfied that the treasure obtained by Mahmud in Nagarkot must have consisted chiefly of the silver pieces or *drammas* of the Hindu Rajas of Kabul."

It seems not improbable that Kangra Fort may have been in the possession of the Turki-Sahi and Hindu-Sahi kings as suggested by Cunningham,¹ just as at a later period it was garrisoned by imperial troops under the Mughals. This would account for the weakness of the defence when assaulted by Mahmud, as most of the garrison had probably been sent to the frontier. The Raja of the time is said to have been Jagdis-Chand, who was 436th in descent from Bhum-Chand, the mythical founder, and 202nd from Susarma-Chand, the traditionary founder of the State.

Mahmud, as we have seen, left a garrison in the fort on his departure, which probably held possession till A.D. 1043.² In that year the Raja of Delhi, of the Tomara line of Rajputs, in order to arouse the spirit of his countrymen, pretended to have seen a vision. He affirmed that the great idol of Nagarkot, which had been carried off by Mahmud, had appeared to him in a vision and told him that having taken revenge upon Ghazni, she would meet him at Nagarkot in her former temple. This story being everywhere accepted, great numbers flocked to his standard, and he soon found himself at the head of a large army.

He then marched against Hansi, Thanesar and other places held by Muhammadan garrisons under Modud, grandson of Mahmud, and drove them out. Having done so he entered the hills and laid siege to Nagarkot, which after

¹ Alberuni states that the names of the Turki-Sahi princes were recorded on a piece of silk found in the fort of Nagarkot at its capture. They had reigned for sixty generations. The Turki-Sahi kingdom may have been founded about A.D. 50, possibly on the overthrow of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom. Kanishka was the most famous king of this dynasty, which came to an end about A.D. 870. Vide Elliot's *History*, Volume II, Appendix, pages 409-10. Cf. *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VII, No. 2, pages 115 to 129, also *Early History of India*, V. Smith, pages 219-ff.

² Forishta, Briggs trans., 1909, Volume I, pages 118-19. Elliot's *History*, Volume II, Appendix, pages 444, 5, 6. Other authorities—*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Habib-us-Siyar*.

four months was compelled to capitulate, owing to the exhaustion of the food supplies and no relief having come from Lahore.

An idol, exactly resembling that which had been carried away, was then introduced secretly by night into a garden near the temple, which seems to have been left uninjured or had been rebuilt, and its discovery in the morning caused great rejoicing among the people, who exclaimed that the idol had returned from Ghazni. It was then carried with great pomp into the temple, where it was installed amid the adoration of the people.

This story spread far and near, and increased the fame of the shrine to such a degree, that devotees came to worship in thousands from all parts of India, and the offerings of gold, silver and jewels presented by them, and the princes of India, are supposed to have nearly equalled the wealth carried off by Mahmud.

The conquest of the Panjab by Mahmud was only partial, and we read of no permanent garrisons having been established till A.D. 1023, except that of Nagarkot. Till then the Pal kings—the last of the Hindu-Sahi princes of Kabul and Und or Ohind—continued to exercise a nominal rule, in bitter warfare against the foe, but on the death of Bhim-Pal, the last of his line, the Hindu Kingdom was finally overthrown, about A.D. 1026.¹

How long the Katoch Rajas continued to hold the Province of Jalandhara, after the conquest of Lahore by Mahmud, it is difficult to say. From the *Rajatarangini*² we learn that, somewhere about A.D. 1030-40, Ananta-Deva, the Raja of Kashmir, was married to two princesses of the Katoch family, the daughters of "Indu-Chandra, lord of Jalandhara," and this is the last reference to the State in the History of Kashmir. The Indu-Chandra, above-mentioned, is identified by Cunningham with the Indra-Chandra of the genealogical roll, but this is improbable, as Cunningham misread the date of the Baijnath Eulogies, on which his chronological calculation is based. That date he took to be A.D. 804, whereas in reality it is A.D. 1204. It is clear, however, from the *Rajatarangini* that a Raja, named Indu Chandra, was a contemporary of Ananta-Deva of Kashmir in the first half of the eleventh century, though his name is not found in the *Vansavali* of that time.

¹ Elliot's *History*, Volume II, Appendix, page 427.

² *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VII, 150, 152; and J. P. H. S., Volume VII, No. 2, pages 127-8.

NOTE.—Tilochan-pal and his son, Bhim-pal, were both killed in battle, opposing Mahmud.

In the Odes of Sad bin Salman, called *Diwan-i-Salman*, there is a reference to the conquest of Jalandhar, an event which may have taken place in the reign of Ibrahim of Ghazni (A.D. 1058-89), who was a descendant of Subaktagin—the father of Mahmud. It is as follows :¹—“ The narratives of thy battles eclipse the stories of Rustam and Isfandiyar. Thou didst bring an army in one night from Dhangnan to Jalandhar. The hills were alarmed, and the clouds astonished. The horses and camels stood ready. They galloped over the narrow road and floundered in the river through the darkness of the night. The clouds around formed thrones of ice, and rivulets of blood flowed in all the ravines. The standards were flying and the spears had their heads as sharp as thorns ; and the army of the Magog of mercy made firm his tents upon the hills in a line like the wall of Alexander. Thou remainedst but a short time on the top of the hills, thou wast but a moment involved in the narrow defiles. Thou didst direct but one assault, and by that alone brought destruction on the country. By the morning meal not one soldier, not one Brahman remained unkilld or uncaptured. Their heads were severed by the carriers of swords. Their houses were levelled with the ground by the flaming fire. A fleet messenger came from Dhangnan, announcing that ten thousand turbulent people, horse and foot, had collected. Thou didst take the road by night, and wast surrounded by gallant warriors. The enemy's heart quailed because of thy coming. Thou didst pass on without stopping with thy foot soldiers, like the wind. Thou didst proceed till the noise of the clarions of Sair Sambra arose, which might have been said to proclaim his despair, and was responded to by those of Bu Nasr Parsi, which announced thy victory to all quarters. He fled unto the river Rawa at dread of thy approach ; and there he was drowned and descended into the infernal regions, and well do I know that this end must have been less appalling than the daily fear which he entertained of the destruction which awaited him. Henceforth thou shouldst consider that the Rawa had done thee service and it should be reckoned as one devoted to thy will. If such a place be conquered during this winter, I will guarantee the conquest of every village near Jalandhar. I am the meanest of slaves and hold but an exceedingly small office, but make thou over to me the accomplishment of this business. The *rais* and

¹ Elliot's *History*, Volume IV, Appendix, pages 520-3.

soldiers will not dare to revolt, and *rajas* from fear of thee will proffer their allegiance. By the help of God, and by the force of thy prosperity, will I extirpate the practices of idolatry from this country. I will make the slain kiss the earth to the very gate of the fort. I will make a string of slaves kiss the earth to the banks of the Rawa (Ravi). Thou hast secured victory to thy country and thy religion, for amongst the Hindus this achievement will be remembered till the day of resurrection." There is a wildness and want of coherence in this Ode, which renders its precise meaning doubtful, but it is interesting as noticing the capture of Dhangnan and Jalandhar. The latter place is well known but has not before been noticed in Muhammadan annals. The position of the former is doubtful, but the description shows that it must have been within the hills. These conquests appear to have been effected in the time of Ibrahim, and it seems not improbable that the reference given points to the fall of Jalandhar before the Muhammadan arms, and the loss by the Rajas of Trigarta of their possessions on the plains; which may have taken place about A.D. 1070.

As has been stated,¹ Mahmud left a garrison in the fort which was expelled, in A.D. 1043. In A.D. 1051-2, Abdul Rashid, a son of Mahmud, who had come into power, appointed Hashtagin Hajib Governor of the Panjab, and on the latter learning of the capture of the fort by the Hindus, he advanced and laid siege to the place which, it is said, was taken by escalade on the sixth day. That the stronghold remained long in Muhammadan hands is improbable. Though cowed for a time, the spirit of the Rajput princes soon revived, and they made a determined struggle to regain the territories which had been wrested from them. The capture is recorded by Ferishta only and is probably fictitious.

That the Kangra Rajas were successful in recovering the fort, if captured, is therefore highly probable, and we may conclude that from about A.D. 1060 onwards, for nearly 300 years, it remained in their possession. Till about A.D. 1170 the State continued undivided under one head. The Raja of the time is said to have been Padam-Chand, and his younger brother, Parab-Chand, then broke away from the parent stem and founded the State of Jaswan—in the Jaswan Dun, now in the Hoshiarpur district.

It is probable, however, that the separation took place at a still earlier period, of which no record has come down

¹ Ferishta, trans., 1910, Volume I, page 132.

to us, and that the State—originally only a fief of Kangra—became independent in the disturbed times following on the Muhammadan invasions of the Panjab. “Many centuries ago,” says Mr. Barnes,—“so long ago that all consanguinity has ceased, and intermarriages take place among a people, to whom marriage with blood relations is a heinous crime—a member of the Katoch family severed himself from Kangra and set up an independent State in Jaswan.”¹

For nearly 200 years after Mahmud, the Muhammadans were unable to advance their frontier much beyond the Satluj. To the south they were opposed by the Rajas of Delhi of the Tomara line of Rajputs—under whose banner all the feudatory and confederate Chiefs of Northern India marched to battle. In the *Prithi Raj Raisa* by the bard Chand, which deals with the last times of the Hindu Kingdom of Delhi, we find “Kangra and its mountain Chiefs” included among those who were summoned by Anang Pal—the last of his line—to follow his standard to the field.² Dying childless in A.D. 1151, he was succeeded by Visaladeva Chauhan of Ajmer—whose grandson, Prithvi Raj, was the son of Anang-Pal’s younger daughter, and followed in succession about A.D. 1171, as Raja of Ajmer and Delhi.

The elder daughter had been married to the Raja of Kanauj³, and her son, Jai-Chand Rathor, who bore the same relationship to Anang-Pal as Prithvi-Raj, not only refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Delhi, but put forward his own claim to the dignity of paramount ruler. Strife ensued between them, embittered by the daring exploit of Prithvi-Raj, in carrying off by force, in A.D. 1175, his willing bride—the beautiful daughter of his rival—from amidst the assembled princes at Kanauj. Jai-Chand in revenge then invited, through his Muhammadan mercenaries⁴, the king of Ghazni to invade Delhi, and thus in the end brought destruction on both kingdoms. For years the war went on, and though no details have come down to us of the part played by Kangra in the long and relentless struggle, yet we may well believe that in the final conflicts, in A.D. 1191—3, with Muhammad Ghorî, on the banks of the Gaggar, the Katoch Chief bore an honourable part.

¹ *Kangra Settlement Report*, page 7.

² *Tod's Rajasthan*, reprint, 1899, Volume I, pages 268.

³ Vide *The Lay of Alha*, pages 39 to 56.

⁴ Many of the Rajput Chiefs at that time employed Muhammadan mercenaries against one another.

The next reference to the Rajas of Trigarta occurs on two slabs in the Siva temple at Baijnath¹ in the Kangra Valley, and is of great interest. Baijnath (Vaidyanatha) was originally the name of the temple only, the village in which it stands being called Kiragrama, but the latter name has been long disused. In the twelfth century Kiragrama was the seat of a *Rajanaka* or Rana, whose fort is said to have stood on or near the site of the present Dâk Bungalow. The name of the Rana, at the time the slabs were engraved, was Lakshmana-Chandra, and his ancestors had held Kiragrama for eight generations, as vassals of the Rajas of Jalandhara and Trigarta, with whose family they had been counted worthy to intermarry. In the inscription the name of the contemporary Raja is given as Jaya-Chandra, and he is called "the supreme king of Jalandhara." The overlords of the Ranas of Kiragrama, that is, the Rajas of Kangra, are called "kings of Trigarta," and the town of Kangra is called *Susarmapura*.

Cunningham identified Jaya-Chandra with Jaya-Mala-Chandra of the *Vansavali*, who may have reigned about the beginning of the ninth century, but this identification was based on an erroneous reading of the date of the Baijnath Eulogies, and therefore cannot be accepted. There was, however, another Jaya-Chandra, whose full name was Jaya-Sinha-Chandra, and who, according to the *Vansavali*, immediately preceded Prithvi-Chand, in the early part of the fourteenth century. If we suppose that Jaya-Sinha-Chandra's name was displaced in copying the *Vansavali*—an error of frequent occurrence—his reign may have come at an earlier period, and several reigns may have intervened between him and Prithvi-Chand. We, therefore, feel inclined to identify Jaya-Sinha-Chandra with the Jaya-Chandra of the Eulogies and assign his reign to the beginning of the thirteenth century—say, c. A.D. 1200-20. We assume, therefore, that four or five reigns came between that of Jaya-Sinha-Chandra and of Prithvi-Chand, whose name stands next in the *Vansavali*, and who may have succeeded to the *gaddi* about A.D. 1330.

Probably long before that time the province of Jalandhara on the plains had been lost, but the old title was still retained.

¹ *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, pages 178-184.

The town of Jaisinghpur on the Bias near Lambagraon was probably founded by Jaya-Sinha-Chandra, and was a residence of the Kangra Rajas.—*First Kangra Travels*, Volume I, page 148.

Prithvi-Chand, c. A.D. 1330.—The next reference to Kangra is found in the year A.D. 1337, and it probably refers to the reign of Raja Prithvi-Chand. In that year Kangra fort is said to have been captured by Muhammad Tughlak (A.D. 1325-51). Ferishta does not mention this event, but in the Odes of Badr-i-Chach, a poet at the Muhammadan court, we find the following:¹—"When the Sun was in Cancer, the king of the time (Muhammad Tughlak), took the stone fort of Nagarkot, in the year A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337). It is placed between rivers like the pupil of an eye, and the fortress has so preserved its honour and is so impregnable that neither Sikandar nor Dara was able to take it. Within are the masters of the *mangonels*, within also are beauties resplendent as the sun. Its Chiefs are all strong as buffaloes, with necks like a rhinoceros. Its inhabitants are all travelling on the high road to hell and perdition and are *ghuls*, resembling dragons. The exalted king of the kings of the earth arrived at night at this fortress with 100,000 companions. His army contained 1,000 stars and under each star 1,000 banners were displayed."

Cunningham² states that on this occasion the temple of Bhawan was again desecrated, and restored just before the capture by Firoz Tughlak, but does not give his authority. It seems very doubtful if any such siege ever took place. It is not mentioned by any historian, not even by Barni (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*), who was a contemporary of Muhammad Tughlak and wrote his history. The author of the Ode was a poet and not a historian, and the tone and tenor convey the impression of poetical license rather than historical fact. The siege is said to have taken place in A.D. 1337, that is, the year of the so-called invasion of China by Muhammad Tughlak. He did not accompany the army, and the invasion was only an incursion of short duration into the outer Himalaya. It may have been up the Satluj Valley, and a detachment may have reached Kangra which was famous all over India. It thus furnished a theme for the poet for the gratification of the Sultan, whose servant he was, and to soothe his wounded pride at the utter failure of the expedition. Out of an army of 100,000,—the same as the number in the Ode—only ten returned and they were at once executed. Beginning with Raja Prithvi-Chand there are many coins extant of the Rajas of Kangra.

¹ Elliot's *History*, Volume III, page 570.

² Cf. *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, pages. 157-165.

Parab-Chand, c. A.D. 1345.—Parva or Parab-Chand may have succeeded about A.D. 1345, and in A.D. 1351 Muhammad Tughlak died and his army fell into great disorder. He was succeeded by Firoz Shah Tughlak by whom the Fort was besieged in the following reign.

Rup-Chand, c. A.D. 1360.—With the accession of Rup-Chand the chronology becomes more concise, and we are able to fix approximately the date for each reign down to the extinction of the State. Rup-Chand must have succeeded about A.D. 1360, for he was reigning when the fort was besieged by Firoz-Tughlak about A.D. 1365, and from him to Anirudh-Chand (A.D. 1828) there were twenty-seven reigns, giving an average duration of about seventeen years, which is well under the average in most of the other States.

Rup-Chand's name is found in the *Dharm Chand Natak* of the bard, Manik-Chand, written about A.D. 1562, in the reign of Raja Dharm-Chand; in which reference is made to the capture of Kangra Fort by Firoz Shah Tughlak, c. A.D. 1365.

There is also a reference in Ferishta¹ to an incident which casts an interesting sidelight on the condition of affairs on the plains about that time. The Rajput princes seem to have been very restless under the new yoke imposed upon them, and took advantage of every opportunity to harass the Muhammadans by a species of guerilla warfare. This, we may safely assume, was carried on almost continuously for several centuries after the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. In keeping with this policy, Rup-Chand of Kangra, in the early part of his reign, set out with his following for a raiding expedition on the plains, and plundered the country almost to the gates of Delhi. On his return journey, laden with booty, he encountered Shahab-ud-din of Kashmir (A.D. 1363-86), who was out on a similar expedition, and laying his spoils at the feet of the Kashmir Chief, swore fealty to him. The Rajatarangini of Jonaraja has a different version of this incident. There it is stated that during the Kashmir King's progress "the Raja of Susarmapura (Kangra) out of fear forsook the pride of his fort and sought refuge with the goddess." From this we

¹ Ferishta, trans. and reprint, 1909, Volume IV, pages 458-59. *Rajatarangini*, Jonaraja, trans., page 39.

may perhaps infer that there was a conflict between the two forces, as seems most likely, in which Rup-Chand was worsted and fled back to Kangra, and had afterwards to surrender his booty to Shabab-ud-Din. The "goddess" referred to was probably Mata Devi of Bhawan at Kangra. /

Firoz Shah Tughlak (A.D. 1351-88), who was then on the throne of Delhi, about A.D. 1365, undertook an expedition against Nagarkot, probably, as Cunningham suggests, in revenge for Rup-Chand's incursion, and the siege is referred to both in *Ferishta* and in the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*.¹ The latter account is as follows:—"Afterwards he (Firoz Shah) marched with his army from Delhi towards Nagarkot, and passing by the valleys of Nakhsh-nuh-garhi² he arrived with his army at Nagarkot, which he found to be very strong and secure. The Rai shut himself up in his fort and the Sultan's forces plundered all his country.".....

"The Rai of Nagarkot withdrew into the keep of his stronghold, which was invested by the royal forces in double, nay, in ten-fold lines. *Manjaniks* and *arradas* were erected on both sides, and so many stones were discharged that they clashed in the air and were dashed to pieces. For six months the siege went on, and both sides exhibited great courage and endurance. At length fortune inclined to the Sultan. He was one day examining the fortress, when he perceived the Rai standing on the top of his citadel. There he stood in an attitude of humility, and stretching out his hands in sign of distress, he clasped his hands and bowed in subjection. When the Sultan observed this he drew a handkerchief from his bosom, and waving it kindly towards the Rai, he signed for him to come down. The *Mehtas* of the Rai assembled (and counselled surrender) so the Rai, throwing off his pride, came down from his fort, and making apologies cast himself at the feet of the Sultan; who with much dignity placed his hand on the back of the Rai, and having bestowed on him robes of honour and an umbrella sent him back to his fort. So the Rai returned laden with presents which he had received from the royal treasury, and accompanied by several fine horses which had been given to him. Thus by the favour of God the Sultan became master of Nagarkot. When he left the fort to return to the capital, the Rai sent many offerings and horses of priceless worth."

¹ *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*. Elliot's *History*, Volume III, pages 317-3-9.

² It is impossible to restore the correct reading of Nakhsh-nuh-garhi or to identify the place.

Firoz Shah visited Jwalamukhi on his way to Nagarkot, and some of the Hindus affirmed that he held a golden umbrella over the head of the idol, but this is indignantly repudiated by Shams-i-Siraj, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, as untrue. The idol referred to was probably that of Bhawan at Kangra.

The reference in Ferishta is not so detailed, but has some features of special interest. It is as follows:¹ "From thence (Sirhind) the king marched towards the mountains of Nagarkot, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. The Raja of Nagarkot after sustaining some loss submitted and was restored to his dominions. The name of Nagarkot was on this occasion changed to that of Mahomedabad in honour of the late king. The people of Nagarkot told Firoz that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagarkot was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left the idol with them. The name by which it was then known was Jwalamukhi. In this temple was a fine library of Hindoo books, consisting of 1,300 volumes. Firoz ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology and divination, to be translated into prose in the Persian language, by Eiz-ud-din Khalid Khani, and called it *Dalayl-i-Firoz Shahi*. Some historians state that Firoz on this occasion broke the idols of Nagarkot, and mixing the fragments with pieces of cow's flesh filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of Brahmins, who were then paraded through the camp. It is said also that he sent the image of Nowshaba to Mecca to be thrown on the road, that it might be trodden under foot by the pilgrims, and that he also remitted the sum of 100,000 *tankas* to be distributed among the devotees and servants of the temple." In the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* no mention is made of these occurrences and they are probably untrue, for it would appear that Firoz Shah respected the places of worship, and left the temple of Bhawan uninjured.²

In his account Ferishta has confounded two different goddesses, the great *Mata Devi* of Nagarkot and the fiery-mouthed goddess of Jwalamukhi, two places which are upwards

¹ Ferishta. Brigg's trans., Volume I, pages 453-4. The soldiers had probably never before seen snow falling.

² Cf. Ferishta, 1909, Volume I, pages 453-4; and *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Elliot's History, Volume III, page 318.

of twenty miles apart. Shams-i-Siraj, who derived his information from his father who accompanied Firoz, more correctly states that *Jwalamukhi*, much worshipped by the Hindus, was situated "in the road to Nagarkot."

We also have the following interesting note in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, referring to the siege of Kangra Fort by Firoz Shah:¹ "This fort's fame has ascended to the heavens owing to its great strength and impregnability. It lies to the north of Lahore in the midst of hills. The *zamindars* in the Punjab have the belief that except God, the Creator of the world, no one else knows the date of this fort's foundation. In this great length of time this fort has never passed from hand to hand to different tribes, nor has any stranger extended over it the hand of authority. One of the kings of Islam, Sultan Firoz Shah, with all his greatness and resources, attempted to reduce it and the siege was of long duration. Coming to the conclusion that to capture that fort was an impossibility, he contented himself with an interview with the Raja and gave up his project."

"They say the Raja then invited the Sultan and some of his people into the fort. The Sultan said to the Raja that to invite him within the fort was a piece of imprudence; if the retinue in his train resolved upon an attempt on him (the Raja), and should seize the fort, what remedy was there. The Raja made a sign to his men and at once crowd after crowd of armed men came out of their hiding places. The Sultan was in consternation. The Raja said respectfully that, beyond precautions, he had no other ideas in his head. Still to put into practice measures of prudence was a necessity on such an occasion. On all subsequent occasions when the Sultans of Delhi sent troops to take Kangra nothing was ever effected."

As already stated a reference to the siege occurs in the Rhymes of the Hindu bard, Manik-Chand, written in s. 1619 = A.D. 1562. The fact of the Raja's submission is admitted; and the bard also refers to the meeting of the Raja and the Sultan, and gives the former's name as Rup-Chand. He also mentions the incident of the Sultan placing his hand on the Raja's back. The quotation runs as follows:²—

*Rup Chandar barkar charho Dileswar Surtan
Bahut hetkar pag paro pith hath lei San.*

¹ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ii, 185, 186.

² *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, page 158.

"Rup Chander went forth to meet the Sultan, lord of Delhi, and bowing very low down to his feet, the king put his hand on his back."

This timely submission of the Kangra Chief must have been very welcome after a six months' siege, as Firoz Shah was then able to return to Delhi. Cunningham assumes that the fort was retained and a Muhammdan garrison left in it. He says:—"Rup-Chand saved his dominions at the cost of his ancestral home which was now garrisoned by Muhammdan troops." This, however, is by no means clear from the narratives; indeed Ferishta distinctly states that Rup-Chand was restored to his dominions, while the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, written during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlak, and thus contemporaneous, says nothing about a garrison having been left in the fort.¹ The *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* also confirms the conclusion that the fort was not occupied. Rup-Chand died about A.D. 1375 and was succeeded by his son, Sangara-Chand.

year and was treated in the most hospitable and generous manner. The turban, which he exchanged for that of the Rana, as a symbol of fraternal adoption, is still shown in Udaipur. Prince Nazir-ud-din remained at Nagarkot till the end of A.D. 1389, when he was recalled to Delhi, and in August A.D. 1390 ascended the throne under the name of Muhammad Tughlak.

Sangara-Chand probably died about A.D. 1390 and was followed by his son Megh-Chand.

Megh-Chand, c. A.D. 1390.—Megh-Chand was probably on the *gaddi* at the time of Timur's invasion of India in A.D. 1398-99, and in Timur's Memoirs, called *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, there is a reference to Nagarkot.

On his return journey from Delhi in A.D. 1399, Timur reached the foot of the Savalak somewhere near Hardwar, and advanced along the outskirts of the hills from there to Jammu. He had heard of Nagarkot and wished to capture it, but does not seem to have penetrated so far into the interior of the hills. The Hindus opposed his march, and he fought many battles and took eight forts, but does not actually state that Nagarkot was one of them. The rivers were crossed where they leave the hills, and numerous incursions were made into the valleys and ravines of the outer hills, in which many of his opponents were killed and much booty of every kind fell into his hands. Pathankot and Nurpur, then called Dhameri, lay right in his way and must have suffered, and the passage of the Ravi was probably made at Shahpur-Kandi. Thence he advanced through Lakhanpur, Jasrota and Samba to Jammu which was captured and sacked.

The reference in Timur's Memoirs¹ is too long to be given in full, but the first paragraph referring to Nagarkot is as follows:—"When I entered the valley on that side of the Savaliks, information was brought me about the town of Nagarkot which is a large and important town of Hindustan, and situated in these mountains. The distance was thirty *kos*, but the road thither lay through jungles and over lofty and rugged hills. Every *rai* and *raja* who dwelt in these hills had a large number of retainers. As soon as I learnt these facts about Nagarkot and the country round, my whole heart was intent upon carrying the war against the infidel Hindus of that place, and upon subduing the territory, so I set spurs to my horse and wended my way thither."

¹ *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, Elliot's *History*, Volume III, pages 465-6-7-8; also cf. *Zafarnama*, Elliot's *History*, Volume III, pages 504-15-16-17.

Timur then goes on to relate in detail the incidents of the campaign and to tell of the battles he fought and the spoils he secured, but Nagarkot is not again referred to. His camp was probably at Dasuhal near Hoshiarpur at the time he formed the resolve to subdue Nagarkot, and the difficult character of the country prevented him from fully carrying out his design. The whole passage in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* is interesting, as showing by a typical example how his invasion of India was carried out, and what frightful scenes of plunder and rapine these quiet mountain valleys have witnessed in their time. The narrative continues as follows:—"The left wing of my army commanded by Amir Jahan Shah, had obtained no booty on the previous day, so I ordered his division to the front to battle with the infidels, and to capture spoil to compensate them for the deficiency of the previous day. I sent Sain Timur with a party of soldiers forward as an advance guard and then I followed. At breakfast time Sain Timur, the Commander of the vanguard, sent to inform me that there was a very large force of infidels in front, drawn up in order of battle. I instantly ordered Amir Jahan Shah, whom I had sent to the front with the forces of the left wing and the army of Khorasan, to attack the enemy. The Amir in obedience to my order, advanced and charged the enemy. At the very first charge the infidels were defeated and put to flight. The holy warriors, sword in hand, dashed among the fugitives and made heaps of corpses. Great numbers were slain, and a vast booty in goods and valuables, and prisoners and cattle in countless numbers, fell into the hands of the victors who returned triumphant and loaded with spoil."

"A horseman belonging to the *Kushman* (regiment) of Amir Shaikh Nur-ud-din and Ali Sultan Tawachi now came galloping in to inform me that upon my left there was a valley in which an immense number of Hindus and *gabrs* had collected, and were crying out for battle. Vast herds of cattle and buffaloes were grazing around them, in numbers beyond the reach of the imagination. As soon as I heard this, I proceeded to the place, and having said my midday prayers with the congregation on the way, I joined Amir Shaikh Nur-ud-din, and I ordered him, with Ali Sultan Tawachi, to march with their forces against the enemy. In compliance with this order they went boldly forward, and by a rapid march came in sight of the infidels. Like a pack of hungry sharp-clawed wolves, they fell upon the flock of fox-like "

and dyed their swords and weapons in the blood of those wretches, till streams of blood ran down the valley. I went to the front from the rear, and found the enemy flying on all sides, and my braves splashing their blood upon the ground. A party of the Hindus fled towards the mountain, and I, taking a body of soldiers, pursued them up that lofty mountain and put them to the sword. After mounting to the summit I halted. Finding the spot verdant and the air pleasant I sat myself down and watched the fighting and the valiant deeds my men were performing. I observed their conduct with my own eyes, and how they put the infidel Hindus to the sword. The soldiers were engaged in collecting the booty and cattle, and prisoners. This exceeded all calculation and they returned victorious and triumphant. The princes and Amirs and other officers came up the mountain to meet me and to congratulate me on the victory. I had seen splendid deeds of valour, and I now promoted the performers and rewarded them with princely gifts."

"The enormous numbers of cows and buffaloes that had been taken were now brought forward, and I directed that those who had captured many should give a few to those soldiers who had got no share. Through this order every man, small and great, strong and feeble, obtained a share of the spoil. I remained till evening on the mountain, and after saying the evening prayer I came down. I encamped in the valley where there were running streams."

"Since the 14th Jumada-l-Awwal (A.H. 801 = A.D. 1399) when I entered the Savalik hills, I had fought the enemy several times; I had gained victories and captured forts. From that time to the 17th Jumada-l-Akhir, one month and two days, I had been engaged in fighting, slaying and plundering the miscreant Hindus of those hills, until I arrived at the fort of Jammu. I reckoned that during these thirty-two-days, I had twenty conflicts with the enemy and gained as many victories. I captured seven strong celebrated forts belonging to the infidels, which were situated two or three *kos* distance apart, and were the jewels and beauties of that region."

Hari-Chand I, c. A.D. 1405.—A few years after Timur's invasion Hari-Chand succeeded to the throne of Kangra, and during his reign an incident occurred which resulted in the founding of a new principality.

The country to the south of Kangra was then dense jungle with probably few inhabitants, and it seems to have been the hunting ground of the Kangra Rajas. One day the Raja set out with his retinue on a hunting expedition in the direction of Harsar, now in Guler State, and in the course of the hunt he somehow got separated from the party and fell into a well or deep pit. On his disappearance being discovered, diligent search was made for several days but in vain. Believing that he had fallen a victim to some wild beast, the officials returned to the capital, where the Raja's funeral obsequies were duly performed according to custom, even his *ranis* becoming *sati*.

His younger brother, Karm-Chand, was then installed in his room in the absence of a direct heir, and Hari-Chand was regarded as dead. He, however, was still alive and after twenty-two days, it is said, was discovered by a passing merchant and rescued. On hearing what had taken place in Kangra he decided not to return to the capital, and selecting a site near the junction of the Banganga, Kurali and Naya-gul rivers, he founded the fort and town of Haripur, and established an independent State. This was done with his brother's knowledge and consent.¹ As a reward to the merchant for his timely help, Hari-Chand remitted all duties on his goods in perpetuity, an exemption which was respected by all the succeeding Rajas and by the Sikhs, and only became obsolete on the general remission of duties under British rule.²

The story may be true or not, but it illustrates a fixed principle of succession to Hindu chiefships, *viz.*, that an heir-apparent once designated, or a Raja once enthroned, cannot be deprived of his dignity. The nomination or consecration is irrevocable. Thus the elder brother ruled at Haripur and the younger held the hereditary kingdom of the Katoch family at Kangra. But down to the present time Guler takes precedence of Kangra on all ceremonial occasions, and the Raja of Guler is the first Viceregal Darbari in the Kangra District.

Karm-Chand, c. A.D. 1415.—Of this Raja's reign we know nothing beyond what has been related, but we assume that it was uneventful.

After the death of Firoz Shah Tughlak in A.D. 1388, the affairs of the Delhi Empire fell into great confusion, which

¹ It is said that Karm-Chand offered to abdicate, but Hari-Chand declined the offer.

² *Kangra Settlement Report*, page 7,

lasted off and on for more than a hundred years. Internecine strife on the plains must have largely diverted attention from the hills, and Kangra, like the other Hill States in the interior of the mountains, was probably independent. There is indeed an inscription in the temple of Mata Devi at Bhawan, of a date somewhat later than the reign of Karm-Chand, which states that the Katoch chieftain, Sansar-Chand I, was a tributary of Muhammad Shah, most probably of the Sayyid dynasty; but in view of the condition of disorder then prevailing, the tributary relationship cannot have been more than nominal. Indeed, Kangra finds no further mention in any of the Muhammadan records till the reign of Sher Shah Sur, A.D. 1540. A careful study of the whole question leads to the conclusion, that the fort remained in the possession of its ancestral Chiefs from A.D. 1043 till its capture by Jahangir in A.D. 1620.

Sansar-Chand I, c. A. D. 1430.—Sansar-Chand was a son of Karm-Chand and succeeded about A. D. 1430.¹ As already stated, an inscription of his reign exists in the temple of Vajresvari Devi in Bhawan, which records that he was tributary to Muhammad Shah; and the only prince of that name whose reign corresponds to that of Sansar-Chand is Muhammad Shah Saiyid of Delhi, A.D. 1435-44.

The next Rajas in succession were *Devangga-Chand, c. A.D. 1450* and *Narendar-Chand, c. A.D. 1465*, but of their reigns there are no records extant, and from what has already been said about the condition of things on the plains at that period, we may conclude that the hills enjoyed comparative peace.

Suvira-Chand, c. A.D. 1480.—Narendar-Chand died childless, but one of his *ranis* was *enceinte*. Other claimants to the *gaddi* then came forward, and the *rani* fearing for the safety of her child, in the event of its being a son, escaped to her parents' home which, according to the vernacular history, was in Poona. On the way her son, Suvira-Chand, was born in a *kumhar's* hut, which seems to have been within the State. On growing up, Suvira-Chand returned to Kangra with a force provided by his maternal grandfather, and after capturing the fort by stratagem, was acknowledged by the people

¹ It appears from the inscription that the year of his accession was A.D. 1429-30. The record also mentions the name of his father, Karm-Chand. (Sanskrit: Karma Chandra) and of his grandfather, Megh Chand (Sanskrit: Megha-Chandra). Cf. *A. S. R.*, Volume V, pages 167-8. The inscription has been discussed and edited by Dr. G. Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume I, page 190-ff.

as the rightful heir and installed as Raja. A *jagir* was then granted to the *kumhar* in whose house he was born, but further than this we are told nothing of his reign.

Prayag-Chand, c. A.D. 1490, followed, and after him *Ram-Chand*, about A.D. 1510, but of the events of these reigns we know nothing. *Ram-Chand*'s name is mentioned in the Muhammadan histories of Akbar's reign, in connection with the expedition sent against Nagarkot in A.D. 1572, as will be related.

Dharm-Chand, c. A.D. 1528.—With *Dharm-Chand*'s accession we touch firm ground, for his name and some of the events of his reign are referred to in the histories of his time. He must have been in middle life when he came to the throne, for a copper-plate deed exists, issued by him in s. 1535=A.D. 1478, on the occasion of his receiving the sacred thread. He was then a child of about eleven years and does not seem to have succeeded till A.D. 1528, on the death of his father.

As we have seen, the Kangra Fort had enjoyed immunity from attack for a long period, but on the expulsion of Humayun from India, and the accession of Sher Shah Sur in A.D. 1540, his able general, Khawas Khan, was sent to Nagarkot to bring the hill country under subjection. The reference in the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaki* is as follows :¹—"Khawas Khan, who was the predecessor of Mian Bhua, having been ordered by the Sultan to march towards Nagarkot in order to bring the hill country under subjection, succeeded in conquering it, and, having sacked the infidels' temple of Debi Shankar, brought away the stone which they worshipped, together with a copper umbrella which was placed over it, and on which a date was engraved in Hindi characters, representing it to be two thousand years old. When the stone was sent to the king, it was given over to the butchers to make weights out of it, for the purpose of weighing their meat. From the copper of the umbrella several pots were made in which water might be warmed, and which were placed in the *masjids*, and the king's own palace, so that everyone might wash his hands, feet and face in them, and perform his purification before prayer."

After the conquest, the hill tracts seem to have been placed in charge of one Hamid Khan Kakar, who "lived in the fort of Milwat (Malot) and held such firm control of the Nagarkot, Jwala, Didhwal and Jammu hills, in fact the

¹ *Waqiat-i-Mushtaki*, Elliot's *History*, Volume IV, page 544.

whole hill country, that no man dared to breathe in opposition to him, and he collected the revenue by measurements of land from the hill people."¹

It may be noted that there is no mention of a siege, or of a garrison having been left in the fort, nor is there any reference of such a character in the works of other historians. These all agree in stating that it remained a virgin fortress till its capture by Jahangir in A.D. 1620. The temple referred to is in the suburb of Bhawan, a mile from the fort. It may, therefore, be assumed almost with certainty that the fort remained in the possession of its own Chiefs from A.D. 1043 till 1620.

The Panjab was then under the rule of Sikandar Shah Sur, a nephew of Sher Shah, who was defeated by the Mughals at Sirhind, and then retreated into the Savalaks around Dhameri (Nurpur) and Kangra. Akbar, then a boy of nearly fourteen years, was sent in pursuit in nominal command of the army. At Kalanaur, now in Gurdaspur District, news reached him of his father's death at Delhi, and he was installed as Emperor (Feb. A.D. 1556). He then advanced into the hills, and at Nurpur, Dharm-Chand of Kangra came in and made his submission and was received with favour.²

Akbar is said to have subdued the country of Nagarkot and captured the fort, but this is contradicted by later writers. It seems certain that he did not penetrate so far into the hills, and his camp was probably at Nurpur while his army was engaged in scouring the country in pursuit of Sikandar Shah, with whom Raja Bakht Mal of Nurpur was in alliance. In the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* we find the following:³—"The Imperial forces encountered the Afghans near the Siwalik Mountains and gained a victory, which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor. Sikandar took refuge in the mountains and jungles, and the Imperial forces were engaged for six months in hunting him about and endeavouring to capture him. Raja Ram-Chand, Raja of Nagarkot, was the most renowned of all the Rajas of the hills, and he came and made his submission. In consequence of the heavy rains, His Majesty left these parts and went to Jalandhar, where he stayed for five months."

¹ *Waqiat-i-Mushtaki*, Elliot's *History*, Volume IV, page 415.

² *Ferishta*, reprint 1909, Volume II, page 183.

³ *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Elliot's *History*, Volume V, page 248.

It will be noted that the Raja's name is incorrectly given as Ram-Chand, and this mistake is found also in Badauni; but Abul Fazl and Ferishta call him Dharm-Chand. Ram-Chand was Dharm-Chand's father.

In the following year (A.D. 1557) Sikandar Shah left his retreat in the hills and invaded the Panjab. Akbar then advanced against him and he sought refuge in the strong fortress of Mankot, on the Mau hills, nearly half way between Pathankot and Nurpur,¹ which was besieged by the Mughals for eight months. When grain had become scarce and the garrison was hard pressed, Sikandar Shah requested that a noble might be sent to arrange terms of surrender. On his entry into the fort Sikandar addressed him in submissive terms, confessing his presumption, and that he knew he had no chance of resistance. He begged to be allowed to retire to Bengal, and promised to remain faithful in his allegiance and leave his son as a hostage. These terms were accepted by Akbar, and on 27th Ramzan, A.H. 964 = July A.D. 1557, the fort was surrendered, and Sikandar Shah was assigned the districts of Bihar and Kharid in *jagir*, but died two years later.²

We may perhaps assume that a contingent from Kangra was present at the siege, though Dharm-Chand was too old to take command. He must have been born about A.D. 1467, and was still alive in A.D. 1562, the year in which the *Dharm-Chand Natak* was written, but died in the following year at an advanced age.

With the firm establishment of Mughal authority the course of events in Kangra becomes much more precise and detailed, and many references of great interest are to be found in the works of contemporary Muhammadan historians. The Kangra Chief was probably among the first in the Panjab Hills to tender his allegiance, but early in Akbar's reign all of them came more or less under Mughal control. To ensure their fidelity Akbar initiated the practice of sending hostages to the Mughal court, the hostage usually

¹ This fort was built by Salim Shah Sur, son of Sher Shah. Cf. *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, page 108.

² Cf. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. Elliot's *History*, Volume V, pages 254-5.

It is worth noting that at Mankot during the siege occurred the historical incident which accentuated the estrangement between Akbar and his famous gonoral, Behram Khan. Two elephants, while fighting for the Emperor's amusement, got entangled among Behram Khan's tents, and threw some of them down, and this was taken as an intentional affront,—vide Elphinstone's *History*, 1857, page 432.

It is also interesting to note that the Empress—Akbar's mother—on her return to India after more than 15 years, joined the Imperial camp at Mankot. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Elliot's *History*, Volume V, pages 254-5.

being a son or other near relative of the ruling Chief, and in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there are said to have been twenty-two young princes from the Hill States in attendance on the Emperor.

Manikya-Chand, A.D. 1563.—Dharm-Chand was succeeded by his son, Manikya-Chand, who was probably in middle life, and had only a short reign, which seems to have been uneventful. He died in A.D. 1570 and was followed by Jai-Chand.

Jai-Chand, A.D. 1570.—Soon after his accession Jai-Chand, for some reason unknown, incurred Akbar's suspicion, and an order was issued for his arrest, which was effected by Raja Ram-Chand of Guler; and he was put in confinement, probably in Delhi. His son, Bidhi-Chand, although a minor, regarding his father as dead, assumed the rule of the State and broke out into revolt.

In A.D. 1572 an army under Khan Jahan Husain Quli Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab, was sent to subdue the country, which had been bestowed by the Emperor in *jagir* upon Raja Birbal; and *farmans* were sent to him and the Amirs of the Panjab commanding them to take Nagarkot from Bidhi-Chand, and place it in the possession of Raja Birbal.

Raja Birbal seems to have accompanied the Mughal army, and, on his arrival at Lahore, Husain Quli Khan and the other nobles set out for Nagarkot by way of Paithan (Pathankot) and Dhameri (Nurpur). On reaching Dhameri the holder of the place, named Choto¹ who is said to have been a relative of Jai-Chand, relying on the security of his fort, which he had strengthened, declined to come out and sent two Vakils with his offerings.

The reference to Dhameri or Nurpur is interesting, as showing that a fort had existed there from former times, previous to the one erected by Raja Basu, son of Takht-Mal, who transferred the capital of the State from Pathankot to Nurpur.

Bakht-Mal, the Raja of Nurpur, in A.D. 1556, had allied himself with Sikandar Shah and after the surrender of Maukot he was taken to Lahore and executed by Bahram Khan, Akbar's general. His brother, Takht-Mal, was then installed in his place, and must have been ruling when

¹ This name is probably a clerical error, and may be meant for *Taktu*, i.e., *Takht-Mal*, who was then Raja of Nurpur.

the Mughal army passed through Nurpur. He perhaps thought it safer to keep out of the way, remembering his brother's fate.

The Commander of Nurpur Fort excused himself from attending in person, on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook to keep the roads open. The Mughal army then passed on, a small force being left at Nurpur, seemingly to keep up communications.

Twelve miles beyond Nurpur is the fort of Kotla on a high hill, then held by a Kangra force which refused to surrender. It had originally belonged to Raja Ram-Chand of Gwalior (Guler), but Raja Dharm-Chand and Raja Jai-Chand of Kangra had occupied it by force.

On arriving at Kotla the garrison discharged muskets, arrows and stones against the troops and inflicted some loss. Thereupon, Husain Quli Khan and other Amirs ascended the hill opposite the fort and commanding it, and some guns were brought up with great labour and fire was opened on the fort. The masonry was shattered and a number of men of the garrison who stood under the walls were killed. This frightened the besieged, and during the night they abandoned the fort and made their escape. In the morning the Mughal commander, with beating of drums, marched into the fortress, which he delivered over to the Raja of Gwalior (Guler), to whose ancestor it had formerly belonged. But he left a garrison of his own in the fort and then advanced to Nagarkot.

The siege of Kangra Fort was progressing favourably, and the garrison were in extremities when it was reported that Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Masud Mirza, relatives of Akbar, had invaded the Panjab. Khan Jahan, therefore, with the approval of the other Amirs, opened negotiations with the commander of the garrison, and on his agreeing to the payment of five *mans* of gold and some valuables, the siege was raised and the Mughal army departed to oppose the Mirzas.

The narrative in the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* is as follows :¹—

“ When the Emperor's favour was alienated from Raja Jai-Chandar, Raja of Nagarkot, he issued orders for putting him in confinement. The Raja's son, Bidhi-Chand, although a minor, assumed the place of his father, and deeming him

¹ Cf. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Elliot's *History*, Volume V, page 356 *et. seq.*; also cf. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Blochmann, Volume I, page. 647-8.

as dead, broke out in revolt. The Emperor having given to Kab Rai the title of Raja Birbal, bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot."

"Thereupon *farmans* were sent to Husain Quli Khan, and the Amirs of the Punjab, commanding them to take Nagarkot from Bidhi-Chand, and place it in the possession of Raja Birbal."

"When the Raja arrived at Lahore, Husain Quli Khan, and other nobles of the Punjab, set out for Nagarkot. On reaching Dhameri (Nurpur), the holder of that place, whose name was Choto,¹ and who was a relative of Jai-Chand, relying on the security of his fort which he had strengthened, kept himself in private, and sent two *vakils* with his offerings. He also sent a message excusing himself from attending in person, on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook the duty of keeping the roads clear. Husain Quli Khan presented the *vakils* with robes and sent them back. Leaving a party of men at the village situated near the opening of the road, he went onwards."

"On arriving at the fort of Kotla he pitched his camp. This fort is a very high one. It formerly belonged to Ram-Chander of Gwalior (Guler), but Raja Dharm-Chand and Raja Jai-Chand had obtained possession of it by force."

"The officers left in charge of the fort by Raja Jai-Chand discharged muskets and arrows and stones against the troops who had dispersed in search of plunder, and inflicted some damage. Upon hearing of this, Husain Quli Khan mounted his horse with the other Amirs to reconnoitre the place. He ascended a hill which is opposite to the fort, and commands it. With great labour some guns were brought up the hill, and fire was opened upon the fort. Its cracked masonry was shattered by the balls. A large number of men stood under the walls, and great loss was suffered. As evening approached, he returned to the camp, leaving a force in charge of that position. During the night the Rajputs who were in the fortress, and were terrified by the cannonade, made their escape. In the morning Husain Quli Khan, beating his drums, marched into the fort of Kotla, which he delivered over to the Raja of Gwalior to whose ancestors it had formerly belonged, but he left a garrison of his own there."

"Continuing his march (beyond Kotla) he (Khan Jahan) came to a thickly wooded country, through which it was difficult for an ant or a snake to creep, so a party of men was

¹ Probably meant for *Takhlu*=*Takht Mal*, then Raja of Nurpur.

sent to cut a road through the jungle. On the 1st Rajab A.H. 980=8th November A.D. 1572, he encamped by a field of maize near Nagarkot. The fortress of Bhun (Bhawan), which is an idol temple of Mahamai, and in which none but her servants dwelt, was taken by the valour and resolution of the assailants, at the first assault. A party of Rajputs who had resolved to die, fought most desperately till they were all cut down. A number of Brahmans, who for many years had served the temple, never gave one thought to flight and were killed."

"During the struggle nearly 200 black cows, belonging to the Hindus, had crowded together for shelter in the temple. Some savage Turks, while the arrows and bullets were falling like rain, killed these cows one by one. They then took off their boots and filled them with the blood, and cast it upon the roof and walls of the temple."

"The outer fortifications having fallen, the buildings were destroyed and levelled to make a camping ground. After this the fort was invested. *Sabats* (approaches) were formed and a mound commanding the fort was raised.¹ Some large guns were also placed upon a neighbouring hill, and were fired several times a day upon the fort and the residence of the Raja. One day the Commander of the artillery fired a large gun upon a place which the Raja had thought to be safe, and in which he was sitting at meat. The ball struck the walls, and killed nearly eighty people who were within the building, among them was Bhuj-Dev, son of Raja Takht Mal (of Nurpur)."

"In the beginning of Shawwal letters came from Lahore with the intelligence, that Ibrahim Husain Mirza had crossed the Satlada (Satluj), and was marching upon Dipalpur. Husain Quli Khan held a secret council with the Amirs about the course necessary to be pursued. The army was suffering great hardships, and the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace, so Husain Quli Khan felt constrained to accede. The infidels undertook to pay a large tribute, five *mans* of gold, Akbarshahi weight, and various kinds of stuffs for His Majesty. A mosque was founded in front of the palace of Raja Jai-Chandar, and after the completion of the first arch a pulpit was raised, and Hafiz Muhammad Bakir read the *Khutba* in the name of the Emperor on Friday, in the middle

¹ A *sabat* is a broad (covered) way under the shelter of which the assailants approach a fortress, secure from the fire of guns and muskets.

of Shawwal A.H. 980=19th February, A.D. 1573. As he repeated the titles of the Emperor gold was showered upon his head. When peace was concluded, the *Khutba* read, and the coins stamped with the Emperor's name, Husain Quli Khan marched away."

The account of the siege in the *Mas'ir-ul-Umara* (Volume I, pages 647-8) is similar to that already given, but in the *Akbarnamah* we find several additional details of considerable interest, and, therefore, give it in full: "The rebel Mirzas thought that, as Khan Jahan and the other nobles in the Punjab were occupied in the siege of Nagarkot, there was a chance of success for them in that province. If they failed they would return through Sindh to Gujrat. Husain Quli Khan, in obedience to the Emperor's instructions, sent a letter of advice into Nagarkot Fort. The advice was not taken. The loyal nobles proceeded there and invested it."¹

"When Raja Jai-Chand left to come to Akbar's court he prudently left his own son, Bidhi-Chand, a minor, in charge of Raja Gobind-Chand, Jaswal. At this period the said Raja came and entered the fort and set to work to prepare it for a siege. The taking of the fort was close at hand, when news came of the rising of the Mirza Ibrahim Husain, and his occupation of the Punjab."²

"On hearing of this trouble the nobles began to consult. Muhib Ali Khan and Mirza Yusuf Khan and Khurram Khan and Fatu and others resolved that the matter (siege) ought to be arranged, and leaving the hill country they should return to the plains of the Punjab, and before the arrival of the rebel get ready an army against him. Khan Jahan and others, as they had undergone great labour and had nearly taken the fort, were desirous of a full success, would not take a wide view and could not bring their minds to making peace. The nobles replied, 'It is easy to see the extent of profit or loss from the capture or non-capture of the fort, but the disturbing report of this deceiver is a big business.' Khan Jahan said, 'If I make terms the results of the council held must be recorded in writing, and each man must append his seal. Thus, if raising the siege fails in securing the Emperor's approval, you nobles will be obliged to supply the answer. The nobles then signed and negotiations were decided on.'"

Akbarnamah, Cawnpore edition, Volume 3, page 6.

² The Mirzas belonged to a branch of the Mughal royal family descended from Timur, and they aspired to the throne. After many contests they were all defeated and captured or killed. *Of. Elphinstone History*, 1857, pages 438 and 441-2-3.

"The Raja (Gobind-Chand) looked on the offer of terms as a stroke of good fortune and was delighted. The conditions of peace were four in number: 1st, That the Raja shall send a daughter into the harem of the Emperor. 2nd, That he will furnish a satisfactory tribute. 3rd, That he will send with us for our satisfaction a man of trust and character, some relative, so that in case the Emperor disapproves of the terms, the man may remain until the fort is evacuated. 4th, Since this country has been allotted as the *jagir* of Raja Birbar, a large sum shall be paid him to induce him to renounce it."

"The Raja considered all these four conditions as beneficial to himself."

"Khan Jahan suggested a fifth condition, *viz.*, that Raja Gopi-Chand (Gobind-Chand) should come in and present himself. To reassure him several of the brethren of Mirza Yusuf Khan would enter and remain in the fort until the Raja came, or else Mirza Yusuf Khan and Khurram Khan should remain in the fort. In the end the brethren of Mirza Yusuf Khan were sent, and the Raja, taking these envoys with him, came into the camp. Having had an interview with Khan Jahan he took his leave. The glorious army then made resolve to expel the Mirza (from the Punjab)."

"A short time only had elapsed when the Raja returned, and by way of submissiveness made the proposal that at a time when they were marching against the enemy, he could not stay idle at home. Thus with excess of zeal he joined himself with the fortunate army.¹ The Mirza, plundering as he went, had reached the border of Diyalpur (Dipalpur), and there he heard of the march of the loyal nobles. He was in consternation and reduced to helplessness. He gave up the idea of reaching Lahore and started in the direction of Multan."

From the above account it would seem that Raja Jai-Chand had voluntarily obeyed the Imperial order to repair to court, but from the Guler Annals we learn that he was arrested by Ram-Chand of that State and sent to Delhi, where he was placed in confinement. But before leaving Kangra he placed his son, a minor, in charge of his kinsman—Gobind-Chand—the Raja of Jaswan, who discharged his duty faithfully. In the latter account, it will be noted, there is no mention of the building of a mosque in front of Jai-Singh's palace,

¹ Raja Gobind-Chand accompanied the Mughal army for some distance and was then permitted to return.

nor of the reading of the *Khutba*, and Khan Jahan does not seem to have even entered the fort, which was left in possession of the Katoch garrison. The siege had lasted about three months when it was raised.

It was probably after this expedition that Akbar deputed his great finance minister, Todar Mal, to Kangra, in order to create an Imperial demesne by confiscations of territory from the Hill States. On presenting himself before his royal master after the completion of his mission, he is reported to have made use of the metaphor, that he 'had taken the meat and left the bone,' meaning thereby that he had annexed all the fertile tracts, leaving nothing but the bare hills to the hill Chiefs. The portion of the demesne taken from Kangra seems to have included sixty-six villages in the valley; and the whole of Rihlu was annexed from Chamba, with similar confiscations according to their means from the territories of other Hill States.¹

Cunningham indeed affirms that in Akbar's reign the Kangra Fort was permanently occupied by Imperial troops, but this is incorrect. We now know that the fort was not captured and permanently garrisoned by the Mughals till A.D. 1620, in the reign of Jahangir. It is also distinctly stated, by one of the historians, that Akbar failed in his attempt to capture the fort, and this seems to have been the only expedition sent against it during his reign.

After the siege there is no further mention of Nagarkot in the Muhammadan histories, till A.D. 1582. Akbar was then on his way to the Indus and had reached Dasuhah (near Hoshiarpur) when on hearing of the cutting out of tongues, practised in the Devi temple at Kangra, he wished to see the place and verify the story. He was, however, prevented from carrying out his purpose by a dream or spiritual apparition during the night.² The incident is thus related in the *Akbar-namah*: "His Majesty heard of the cutting out of tongues and their restoration and desired to verify the story. He was then not far from the spot and the story was again told him. On the 15th Safar, 990 A.H. (21st March, A.D. 1582), he started with a small retinue. At the first stage, Raja Jai-Chand arrived to pay his respects, and as it was one watch after nightfall the town of Daisohah (Dasuhah) was selected

¹ *Kangra Settlement Report*, 1889, page 8.

² *Akbar-namah*, Cawnpore edition, Volume III. page 204; also cf. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ii, 186.

for passing the night. Raja Birbar who held it in *fazzul* (rent-free land) provided all necessities and presented offerings. The attendants were worn out with the hardships of the road, but from the respect imposed by the Emperor's Majesty they dared not say anything. In the night a spiritual form, with which opposition to an act is associated, appeared as a face in the sleeping apartment, and pleading the Imperial dignity, turned him from that enterprise. He communicated the fact of this apparition as soon as morning dawned. He turned back. All were greatly relieved. Between Khondwal and Gaim Adhan a bridge was thrown over the Biah, and on the 17th (23rd March, A.D. 1582) they reached Kalanaur."

From the above it is clear that Akbar did not visit Nagarkot on the occasion referred to, and also that he had not done so previous to this.¹ The following extract from the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* seems to prove that he did not do so at any subsequent date: "Akbar had strong desires for conquest, reigned for a long period and was not averse from taking it (Kangra), this region being on the border of the Imperial territories. On one occasion the Raja of that place for some reason or another incurred Akbar's displeasure. He granted the territory to Raja Birbar and detached a force under the command of Husain Quli Khan, Khan Jahan, Governor of the Panjab. While he was making the investment stricter and stricter the revolt of Ibrahim Husain Mirza took place. Forced by circumstances he (Khan Jahan) made friends with the Raja² and started in pursuit (of the Mirzas). Subsequently Raja Jai-Chand, the lord of that country, sent in without a break, his tribute, and came to kiss the felicity-conferring threshold of the Emperor." It would thus appear that Raja Jai-Chand was set at liberty soon after the siege and resumed his position as ruler of the State. The cutting out of tongues, referred to by Akbar's historians, seems to have been practised from very ancient times, in the temple of Bhawan at Kangra; and occasionally cases occur even now. The belief among the people is that the tongue, thus cut out as an offering to the goddess, is restored within a few hours or days. We find the following notice of the practice in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*:—³ "Near the town is the idol temple of Mahamai, known as Durga Bhawani. They believe it to be an incarnation of God, and pilgrims from afar come to visit it, and

¹ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ii, 180.

² Badauni says, Husain Quli Khan patched up a peace with the Hindus, and departed.

³ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ii, 184.

carry away the desire of their hearts. A wonder is that, with the hope of fulfilment, they cut out their tongues. To some it grows again in an hour or two, with others it takes one or two days. Although the learned in science consider that the tongue is always growing, yet for it to do it so speedily is a marvel, and they account for it as a miracle due to sleeping with Mahadev. The wise men of their sect ascribe it to the potency of his name."

The following on the same subject is from the *Hadikat-ul-Aqalim* of Shaikh Murtza Khan, Bilgrami, written about A.D. 1781 :—" In the same Duaba, within the boundary of Lahore, is a hill country of which the name is Nagarkot. It has an exceedingly lofty fortress. At the foot of these hills, below Nagarkot, a domed edifice has been built. The Hindus connect this with Bhawani. Inside it is a block of stone, quite unadorned, a mere lump of rock. This stone is worshipped by the Hindus with profound reverence. Twice a year crowds, young and old, rich and poor, come bare-footed to adore it. The supplicants cut out their tongues with their own hands, and by aid of their faith they find in a few hours, and some in a few days, that a new and perfect tongue has regrown."

According to local tradition,¹ Akbar was told that Kangra was famous for four things :—

- (1) The manufacture of new noses.
- (2) The treatment of eye-diseases.
- (3) *Basmati* rice.
- (4) The strong fort.

The operation for the restoration of the nose which was for centuries performed at Kangra, is said to have originated in the time of Akbar. The cutting off of the nose was a common form of punishment under the former rulers of India, and on one occasion when the Emperor had ordered a criminal's nose to be cut off, he appeared soon afterwards with a new nose. On asking how it had been acquired, Akbar was told that one Budhya, a surgeon of his own, had performed the operation. He was rewarded by receiving a *jagir* in Kangra, under a title-deed which is said to be still in the

¹ *A. S. R.*, Volume V., pages 168-9; cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 140-41. Traditionally Akbar is said to have besieged Kot-Kangra for ten years; during which time he made the garden of Ram Bagh and remained to eat the first fruit of the mango trees which he had planted. Forster makes the time only one year; a similar tradition is related in connection with the siege of Taragarh in the reign of Shahjahan.

possession of his descendants. The *jagir*, however, was resumed a long time ago under Sikh rule. Mr. Vigne, who gives this information, asked to see the title-deed, but it was not shown, though he met two practitioners of the art, who, however, were unwilling to make any communication on the subject. The operation continued to be practised till long after the beginning of British rule in the Panjab.¹

Sir A. Cunningham who visited Kangra soon after the annexation of the hills, has the following note on the subject : " I could learn nothing about the eyes, but the repair of noses still goes on, although greatly fallen off since the close of Sikh rule, when amputation of the nose was a common punishment. But people still come from Kabul and Nepal to be treated. Noses lost by disease are said to defy restoration, but if so the disease cannot have been cured."²

Cunningham also remarks that " it is strange that there is no mention of the practice by Abul Fazl, although perhaps it may not have come into use until late in Akbar's reign after the *Ain-i-Akbari* had been completed."

With regard to the method of performing the operation, Vigne says:³ " I learned that they first give the patient a sufficient quantity of opium, bhang or wine to render him senseless, they then tap the skin of the forehead above the nose, until a sort of blister arises, from which a piece of skin of the proper shape is then cut and immediately applied as a nose, sewed on and supported with pieces of cotton. The wound is then dressed with an ointment in which blue vitriol is an ingredient. The surgeons practise on the credulity of the Hindus, by telling them that all that is done is by favour of the Devi or spirit who is featureless, and the operation would succeed nowhere else but at Kot-Kangra. On my way to and from the place I saw several persons who had been operated on, and were returning homewards, looking quite proud of their new acquisition, which was, however, but a sorry substitute for the old feature."

Bidhi-Chand, A.D. 1585.—Raja Jai-Chand died in A.D. 1585 and was succeeded by Bidhi-Chand. The hill Chiefs had not yet become reconciled to Mughal supremacy, and soon after Bidhi Chand's accession a secret confederation seems to have been formed, led by Bidhi-Chand, embracing most of ?

¹ NOTE.—Cunningham states that according to his information the operation was in existence before Akbar's time.

² *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, pages 168-9.

³ Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, page 141.

the States in the outer hills, between Jammu and Kangra. In the thirty-fifth year of Akbar (A.D. 1588-89) they all broke out into rebellion, and Zain Khan Koka, Akbar's foster-brother, was sent with a large force to bring them into subjection. He marched through the hills from Pathankot to the Satluj, and on their submission, thirteen of the hill Chiefs accompanied him to Court, and tendered their allegiance, at the same time presenting valuable presents to the Emperor. The *Ain-i-Akbari* says :—"Most of them, as Raja Budi (Bidhi) Chand of Nagarkot, Rai Partap of Mankot, Raja Parasram of Mount-Jammu, Raja Basu of Mau, Rai Balbhadar of Lakhanpur, etc., submitted and accompanied Zain Khan Koka to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 horse and a lakh of foot soldiers." ¹

The following is a translation of the note in the *Ma'asir-ul Umara* :—"In the thirty-fifth year of Akbar, Zain Khan received an order to punish the northern *Zamindars* (petty Chiefs). From near Pathan (Pathankot) he advanced and did not turn his face till he reached the Satluj. All the dwellers in the territories became submissive, Raja Bidhi-Chand of Nagarkot, Raja Parasram of Mount-Jammu, Raja Basu of Mau, Raja Anrudh of Jaswan, Raja Kamluri (Kahluri-Bilaspur), Raja Jagadis-Chand, Dahwal (Dadwal), Rai Sansar-Chand of Panna, Rai Partap of Mankot, Rai Bhaso (Bhabu) Buzurg of Jasrota, Rai Balbhadar of Lakhanpur, Daulat of Kot-Bharta, Rai Krishan Balauria (Basohli), Rai Raodeh, Dhamerwal, although they had 10,000 horsemen and more than one lakh of footmen, submitted and presented themselves at court with valuable presents." It appears that almost the whole of the Hill States between the Chinab and the Satluj were in revolt, and Zain Khan wisely entered the hills at Pathankot, midway between the two extremes, so that as a good strategist he might divide the enemies' forces and conquer them in detail. A force was doubtless sent westward towards Jammu, while he led the main army towards the Satluj. It is noteworthy that Chamba, Kulu, Mandi and Suket are not mentioned, but we may surmise that all the States, between the Chinab and the Ravi, in alliance with Jammu, were involved. Almost all the names can be easily identified, except Panna and Kot-Bharta. The last name in the list probably refers to a subordinate chiefship under Dhameri

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans., I., page 344 ; also *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, page 160.

or Nurpur. Bharta is probably a clerical error for Bhadu, a small State near Basohli.

On their submission they were all considerably dealt with and had their territories and honours restored, but Bidhi-Chand had to leave his son, Triloka-Chand, then a boy, as a hostage at the Mughal Court. Prince Salim (Jahangir) was also then a boy, and the people of Kangra have a story that, when he and Triloka-Chand were together at Delhi, the latter had a parrot which Jahangir wished to possess, but the young Rajput prince would not part with it. On this account Jahangir, it is said, cherished a grudge against Triloka-Chand and marched against him on becoming Emperor.

In the 41st year of Akbar¹ (A.D. 1594-95), there was another rebellion among the hill Chiefs, led by the Raja of Jasrota, but Bidhi-Chand does not seem to have been involved in it, nor Raja Basu of Nurpur; and a force under Mirza Rustam Qandahari was sent against him which entered the hills at Pathankot. A force under Shaikh Farid, the Emperor's Bakhshi or paymaster, was also sent to suppress the rising, and marched through the outer hills, from Jammu by Jasrota and Maukot to Guler, and the Rani of Kangra sent envoys with presents, her son being then at court. Possibly Bidhi-Chand also was then at the Mughal Court. The following reference is from the *Akbarnamah*:²—

“Having left Husain Beg there at Jasrota with a garrison, the army proceeded towards Lakhampur. The Raja came out to meet it. The *pargana* was given to Muhammad Khan Turkoman and a sufficient garrison was placed in the fort. Then the army crossed the Ravi by a ford and proceeded to the *pargana* of Pathan. Next day it marched to Mau, a *pargana* under the authority of Basu. At this time Basu was at court, but his son had at the first come forward and accompanied the army. He was now told that he ought to seize the opportunity for sending a suitable offering, in acknowledgment of the country having been graciously confirmed to him. The son of Basu sent two Vakils to invite the Bakhshi to his house,—a fort on the top

¹ *Akbarnamah*, Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, pages 125 to 129; also *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, pages 167-170, and J. P. H. S., Volume VI, No. 2, page 110.

² *Ibid.*, Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, pages 126-29.

NOTE.—Kot-Bharta may refer to Sambarta of the map, ancient Sumata, and probably the original capital of Bhadu State.

of a hill.—to receive the tribute. So the chief men of the army proceeded with an escort to Mu (Mau), which is a very strong fort. Excepting some cultivated land immediately adjoining the fort, the whole hill is covered with impenetrable jungle. The road through is very narrow, and in places strong gates are erected across it. At the foot of the hill there is also cultivated land, and around it there are stone walls and deep ditches. The country around is exceedingly pleasant, the gardens are full of fruit trees, and there are plenty of running streams. Basu's residence was a fine extensive building. The place was visited and examined, and after Basu's Vakils had discharged the duties of hospitality, the tribute was brought forth, consisting of valuable horses and fine cloths. The other territories of the neighbourhood, which had been held by rebellious Rajas and Zamindars, were granted to *jagirdars* as *tankhwah* (salary)."

"The army then proceeded to Gwalior (Guler) which is also a strong fort belonging to a different Raja, who came out to meet the army and show his loyalty. The Rani of Nagarkot, whose son was at the Imperial court, sent her Vakil to pay his respects. On every side the rebels were compelled to submit and show their obedience. All the country which had been in the hands of the rebels, from Jammu to Nagarkot, was reduced, and the Rajas and Zamindars made their submission or received merited punishment. In fact the country was subjugated in a manner it had never been before."

"The affairs of the clan of Jaswal who are Zamindars with a (common) army, now had to be settled. But when they heard of the approach of the royal army, and of the reduction of the territories of the Zamindars, all hope of successful resistance was beaten out of them, and they made humble submission."

After having carried the campaign to a successful issue Shaikh Farid was recalled to Lahore, where Akbar then was, and travelled from Jaswan *via* Dasuhab and Bataja, reaching his destination in three days,—a very expeditious journey in those times. He then paid his respects to the Emperor and received great rewards. Shaikh Farid afterwards received the title of Murtaza Khan for his services at the siege of Kangra Fort, in A.D. 1615, in collaboration with Suraj-Mal of Nurpur.

The rest of Bidhi-Chand's reign seems to have passed uneventfully, and he died about A.D. 1605.

Triloka-Chand, A.D. 1605.—Jahangir succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1605, but it was not till A.D. 1615¹ that he sent a force against Kangra, under the command of Shaikh Farid Murtaza Khan, Governor of the Panjab, the same who commanded in A.D. 1594-95. An earlier invasion of Kangra is said to have occurred in consequence of the grudge, already referred to, entertained by Jahangir against *Triloka-Chand*, but Cunningham, with more probability, conjectures that it was the result of the Katoch Chief having revived the local coinage in his own name,—a right which had not been exercised either by his father or his grandfather. According to local tradition the fort surrendered after three days' siege and the Raja was assigned the district of Rajgir, as a *jagir*, yielding one lakh of rupees, but this tradition is incorrect and is contradicted by Jahangir himself.

The *Tarikh-i-Panjab*,² by Ghulam Muhai-ud-din of Ludhiana, finished in 1820, has a different version of this story. According to it the Katoch Prince was Hari-Chand, son of *Triloka-Chand*, but this is an error and *Triloka* should be read for *Hari*. The version is as follows:—

“On being asked for the parrot by Jahangir the Rajput prince replied: ‘We have sent *Baz* (falcon) and *Jurrah* (falcon) in our tribute to the Emperor: this wretched bird I have retained for my own pleasure and to practise with. Whenever given leave from the Imperial court, I will return home and send *Baz* and *Jurrah*, together with this poor creature as a present.’ As Akbar favoured Hari-Chand, Jahangir dared not use force to seize the bird, but retained a grudge against the boy. When Hari-Chand reached Kangra again he sent *Baz* and *Jurrah* to the Prince. Jahangir would not accept them. At the time Raja Trilok-Chand (Bidhi-Chand) died, Akbar also quitted this transitory scene and Jahangir succeeded his father. The hill Rajas attended to make obeisance and present their offerings, Raja Hari-Chand among them. He knew that Jahangir had a concealed grudge against him, and before he left home he ordered his mother to put their fort in a state of

¹ The order seems to have been first issued in A.H. 1021 = A.D. 1612-13. Cf. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ii, 638.

² This History was written at the request of Captain Murray, Political Officer in Ludhiana, who died about 1830, and is in manuscript.

NOTE.—*Baz* is the female falcon and *Jurrah* is the male bird,

defence. As his mother was a daughter of the Raja of Chamba, she summoned her brother from Chamba and he remained in the fort at Kangra."

"Openly Jahangir loaded Hari-Chand and the other Rajas with favours, but issued secret orders for his seizure and imprisonment. He heard of the design and fled with two or three personal attendants. When he had covered several stages the news reached Jahangir and he sent troops in pursuit. He was overtaken when he had reached the village of Kiratpur, five *kos* from Anandpur, and was forced to defend himself and was slain on the spot."

The story in the *Tarikh-i-Panjab* is evidently confused and inaccurate, and the version which refers the incident of the parrot to Triloka-Chand is doubtless the correct one. Hari-Chand, son of Triloka-Chand, was only twelve years old in A.D. 1620, whereas Triloka-Chand was a contemporary of Jahangir's and about the same age.

It is possible, however, that the tradition may be a reminiscence of an early invasion of Kangra not recorded in the histories, soon after Jahangir ascended the throne, in which Triloka-Chand was killed. He must have been alive till A.D. 1611, as his son, Hari-Chand, as already stated, was only twelve years of age at the capture of the fort in A.D. 1620. It is noteworthy that Triloka-Chand's name is not mentioned in connection with the invasion and investment of A.D. 1615. We may, therefore, assume that he died or was killed about A.D. 1612 and that Hari-Chand then succeeded as an infant.¹

Hari-Chand II, c. A.D. 1612.—The Muhammadan historians give a detailed account of the invasion and final capture of the fort which is no doubt the true one. Jahangir himself, in his Memoirs, tells us that the force for the siege of Kangra Fort was dismissed on its mission on the 11th Farwardin, A.H. 1024 = 1st or 2nd April A.D. 1615, that is, ten years after his accession. He says:²—"Murtaza Khan on this day obtained leave to go for the capture of the fort of Kangra, the equal of which for strength they cannot point to in the hill country of the Panjab or even all the habitable world. From the time when the sound of Islam reached the country of Hindustan up to this auspicious time, when the throne of rule has been adorned by this

¹ Triloka-Chand was alive in 1611, when William Finch visited Lahore,—*vide* page 96.

² *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Volume I, page 283.

suppliant at the throne of Allah, none of the rulers or kings has obtained possession of it. Once in the time of my revered father, the army of the Punjab was sent against this fort and besieged it for a long time. At length they came to the conclusion that the fort was not to be taken, and the army was sent off to some more necessary business. When he was dismissed I gave Murtaza Khan a private elephant with trappings. Raja Suraj-Mal, son of Raja Basu, as his country was near that fort, was also appointed, and his previous *mansab* was increased by 500 personal and horse." He also tells us that he "released Raja Man, who was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior (the State prison), on the security of Murtaza Khan, and, confirming his *mansab*, sent him to the said Khan for duty at the fort of Kangra."¹

Jahangir does not tell us who Raja Man was, but we may conclude that he was a Rajput Chief of Rajputana, probably Amber or Jaipur. Suraj-Mal, son of Raja Basu, was then Raja of Nurpur, having succeeded his father in A.D. 1613, and, as we have seen, he was sent by the Emperor to assist in the siege of Kangra Fort. He was, however, far from being loyal, and when he saw that the fort was on the point of surrendering, he began to stir up trouble, so as to hinder the operations and prevent the capitulation. He was, therefore, recalled to court and soon afterwards Murtaza Khan died and the siege was held in abeyance, after having lasted nearly a year. The reference in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* is as follows :²—

"When by the exertions of the Shaikh (Murtaza Khan) the besieged (Kangra Fort) were reduced to extremities and he (Suraj-Mal) saw that a victory could not be far off, he set to work to hinder the operations and make them a failure, bound round his waist the covering of erroneous conduct, and raised arguments and opposition against the men of the said Khan. Murtaza Khan wrote to the Imperial court that Suraj-Mal's actions betrayed signs of disloyalty and rebellion. Seeing that the presence in those hills of a capable commander such as Murtaza Khan, at the head of a large force, made his preparations for disturbance and disorder impossible, he was forced to apply to the Prince (Shahjahan), sending to him a petition that Murtaza Khan, instigated by designing persons, has conceived a dislike to him, and casting on him the suspicion of turbulence and

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Volume I, page 301.

² *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ii, 176, 177.

“At the time of these occurrences, early in the 11th year of Jahangir (A.D. 1616) Murtaza Khan folded up the carpet of existence, and the reduction of the fort was held in abeyance. He (Suraj-Mal) in pursuance of a request made by the Prince was recalled to the Imperial court and was received with favour. Shortly afterwards he was attached to the Prince's force, then about to proceed to the Dakhan (October A.D. 1616).”

Soon after Suraj-Mal's recall, Murtaza Khan was taken ill and died at Pathankot. The event is thus referred to by Jahangir: "On the 3rd of this month (Khurdad), the news of the death of Murtaza Khan came. He was one of the ancients of this State. My revered father had brought him up and raised him to a position of consequence and trust. In my reign also he obtained the grace of noteworthy service, namely, the overthrow of Khusrau. His *mansab* had been raised to 6,000 personal and 5,000 horse. As he was at this time Subadar of the Punjab he had undertaken the capture of Kangra, to which in strength no other fort in the hill country of that province, or even in the whole inhabited world, can be compared. He had obtained leave to go on this duty. I was much grieved in the receipt of this news." 2

After the death into the possession of the servants of the of A.D. 1616, Rostate. Ho (Khurram) also sent his (Suraj-Mal's been in corn which covenanted for this. I ordered that after to the for

to the for This was in the end of A.D. 1616 or in January 1617. Raja Sangram was probably the ruler of Jammu and Raja Man of Amber (Jaipur).

² *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Volume I, page 388.

³ *Ibid.*, trans. Rogers and Beveridge, Volume I, page 392.

⁴ Prince Khurram assumed the name of Shahjahan after his accession in A.D. 1628.

comprehending his desires and wishes and satisfying himself with regard to them, he should send off the Raja to wait on me, so that he might set about the said duty.”¹

Shahjahan seems to have been quite satisfied as to the feasibility of the undertaking and reported accordingly. Suraj-Mal was selected to command the expedition in association with Mohammad Taqi, the Prince's *Bakhshi* or paymaster, and both were presented to the Emperor for final sanction of all requirements for the siege. In the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* we find the following note :—“ On the 13th (Mihir) Raja Suraj-Mal, together with Taqi, the *Bakhshi*, who was in attendance on Baba Khurram, came and waited on me. He (Suraj-Mal) represented all his requirements. His engagement to perform the work was approved, and at the request of my son he was honoured with a standard and drums. To Taqi, who had been appointed with him, a jewelled *khapwa* (dagger) was given, and it was arranged that he should finish his own affairs and start off quickly On the same day (17th Mihir), after presenting Suraj-Mal with a dress of honour, an elephant and a jewelled *khapwa*, and Taqi with a dress of honour, I gave them leave to proceed on duty to Kangra.”²

Suraj-Mal, however, was insincere throughout ; his only object seemingly being to get back to the hills to raise trouble. This danger was foreseen by some, but as the arrangements were in Shahjahan's hands no one could advise, though, as the historian remarks, “ it was utterly opposed to the rules of care and caution to allow Suraj-Mal to re-enter the hill country.”

Soon after reaching Kangra, Suraj-Mal began to quarrel with Mohammad Taqi, with a view to get rid of him, so that he might be left in sole command. He sent complaints to Shahjahan, that the *Bakhshi* was incompetent, and that the siege was being delayed. Mohammad Taqi was therefore recalled. Having now a free hand, Suraj-Mal, on the pretext that their supplies were exhausted, dispersed many of the Imperial contingents to their *jagirs* for re-equipment, in anticipation of the arrival of the new commander. Having in this way weakened the Mughal army, he began to raise a disturbance, and with his own troops ravaged the *parganas* at the foot of the hills, and carried off all he could lay his

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Volume I, page 388.

² *Ibid.*, Volume I, pages 392-93.

hands on, in the shape of money and moveable property. The siege of Kangra Fort was thus interfered with and fell into abeyance.

On hearing of the revolt, Jahangir, who was then at Ahmadabad, at once despatched one of his commanders, Sundar-Das, Rai-Raiyan, with reinforcements to suppress it. Suraj-Mal after sustaining a defeat took refuge in Maukot, and on its capture by a *coup-de-main* he escaped and fled to Nurpur and finally to Chamba, where he died in A.D. 1619.

On the occurrence of the outbreak, Jagat-Singh, the younger son of Raja Basu of Nurpur, was summoned from Bengal "in the greatest haste" to assist the Mughals, and on his brother's death and the collapse of all resistance, he was made Raja of Nurpur and ordered to join the Rai-Raiyan in the siege of Kangra Fort, which was resumed on September 5th, A.D. 1619.

The garrison made a brave resistance and suffered great straits, subsisting on leaves, etc., for some months before the surrender in November, A.D. 1620. It was then garrisoned by Imperial troops under Nawab Ali Khan, the first Kiladar or Governor, and it continued to be so held till A.D. 1783.

There are several references to the siege of Kangra Fort in the time of Jahangir, both in his own Memoirs and in the contemporary histories. In the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* we find the following :—"When Jahangir came to the throne he resolved on conquering it (Kangra), and first of all ordered Shaikh Farid Murtaza Khan on the duty, he being then Governor of the Punjab. Before he could carry the campaign to completion he died. Then the work was entrusted to Raja Suraj-Mal. As every matter requires observation of the age and every business depends on the occasion selected, that man of evil disposition hastened to do the reverse of what was desired. At that period, by the strong resolve of the Prince and Heir-apparent (Shahjahan), and the handsome exertions of Raja Bikramajit, this knot so long in being untied, began to get unloosed."¹

"After the return from that campaign (in the Dakhan) he (Suraj-Mal) opened a correspondence and undertook the conquest of Kangra. Although to allow him to re-enter that hill country was utterly opposed to the rules of care and caution, yet the undertaking having been committed to the charge of the Prince (Shahjahan) he selected Suraj-Mal to

¹ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ii, 106,7-8.

command the expedition, jointly with Shah Quli Khan Mohammad Taqi, the *Bakhshi* of his own establishment."

" Then having succeeded in his aim, he (Suraj-Mal) began to quarrel with Shah Quli Khan and wrote to the Prince that he found it impossible to get on with the Khan, who was incapable of carrying out the work. If another Commander were appointed it would be quite easy to conquer the fort. In consequence, Shah Quli Khan was recalled to Court and Raja Bikramajit, one of the nobles of the Empire, was sent at the head of reinforcements."

" Considering that his opportunity had arrived, Suraj-Mal, before the Raja Bikramajit reached the spot, began by sending away various bodies of imperialists, on the pretext that, from the length of the campaign, their resources were exhausted. By returning to the *parganas* they held in *jagir*, they could refurnish themselves, in anticipation of the Raja's arrival. On their departure, this seeker of an opening for trouble manifested signs of rebellion and disturbance, and stretched forth the hand of oppression and usurpation. He ravaged most of the *parganas* at the foot of the hills, which were in the *jagir* of I'timad-ud-daulah (father of Nur Jahan Begam) and carried off all he could lay his hands on in the shape of cash and moveables."

" Sayyid Safi Barhah, with the remainder of the contingents, who, in spite of Suraj-Mal's orders giving them leave had not yet departed for their *jagirs*, and a body of his own followers, made a firm stand and drank the cup of martyrdom. Some were wounded and some attained a safe refuge by swiftness of foot."

The remainder of the account is much fuller in the *Badshahnamah*, and is therefore given:¹—" Now we turn to the story of Suraj-Mal of which a mere hint was given in the course of the narrative about Jagat-Singh."

" When Raja Basu (of Nurpur) died, his son, Suraj-Mal, was raised to his dignities. But from ingratitude he rebelled, just as had been the practice of his turbulent ancestors. By his guile and devices, he brought over to his side all the Zamindars in the hills north of the Punjab. He then began to ravage the *parganas* along the foot of the hills in the Punjab. The Emperor Jahangir, then in Ahmadabad, Gujarat, heard of this rising and resolved on the extirpation

¹ *Badshahnamah*, page 285 *et. seq.*

of the rebel and the capture of the strong fortress of Kangra, situated in the hills to the north of Punjab, and on a high mountain."

"For ages none of the rulers of Hindustan who tried to take it had succeeded, not even Akbar. That sovereign sent against it Husain Quli Khan, Turkoman, entitled Khan Jahan, Governor of the Punjab. The fortress was invested for a long time, but the general had to retreat without effecting his purpose. The matter was left over for Jahangir to undertake."

"The Emperor had a high opinion of the qualities, as soldier and ruler, of the Rai-Raiyan, who had recently returned after obtaining victories over Fath, Jam and Bihar, rulers of Kachh, bringing them to court in his train."

"The Emperor, on the 23rd Ramzan of 1027 A.H. (September 13th, A.D. 1618), sent him at the head of a large army from Ahmadabad. The Imperial orders were to dispose first of Suraj-Mal and then make an attack on Kangra Fort."

"The general on reaching the hill country planned to get rid of Suraj-Mal. The latter, on learning this intention, sought shelter in Mau Fort.¹ It was a place of safety belonging to his father and his predecessors. It is surrounded with jungle and trees with closely intertwined branches. There Suraj-Mal prepared to stand a siege. Rai-Raiyan and his men arrived at the foot of the fort and took it by assault (literally, without dismounting), and after their entry began to slay and capture prisoners and many were killed. While the contest was going on, Suraj-Mal found means of escaping, and moved on with his followers to the fort of Nurpur. The place had been erected by his father in a very strong position. In ancient days its name was Dhameri, but he changed it to *Nurpur*, in honour of the Emperor.² He made it his home and dwelling-place."

"The Mughals rendered it impossible for him (Suraj-Mal) to remain.³ He fled to Asral⁴ which is above Nurpur upon a mountain difficult of access, adjoining the Chambiyal boundary. It is protected by close-growing trees."

¹ He had previously tried by flattery and deceit to gain the favour of the Rai-Raiyan and then attacked the Mughals and was defeated. Cf. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ii, 184-185, 238.

² Jahangir's name was Nur-ud-din.

³ Probably Perigarh in Asral ka Bassa, near Kotila, is indicated. Taragarh had not then been built.

⁴ Cf. *Shash Fateh-i-Kangra*. Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, pages 521 to 526.

“ When this matter was reported to him, Rai-Raiyan and his army went in rapid pursuit and invested the fort. As soon as he reached it, Suraj-Mal abandoned it also, and by swiftness of foot delivered himself from those tigers of the forest of war. He sought protection from the Zamindar of Champa.”

“ The Mughals marched back to Nurpur and thence went out to reduce the neighbouring strong places, all difficult of approach and surrounded by thorny trees, *viz.*, Hara and Thari and Nesa, Nagrota, Sur and Jawali.”

“ Their next efforts were directed against fort Kotilah. It lies between Kangra and Nurpur and has a stream on three sides of it ; the remaining side has a path most difficult to be crossed over. Madhu-Singh, brother of Suraj-Mal, had taken refuge there. The place was surrounded and in three days it was taken. Madhu-Singh fled and joined his brother. When the whole of Suraj-Mal's territory had been occupied Rai-Raiyan then started for the Champa State.”

“ On the way he learned that Suraj-Mal had died. He was an ungrateful man, who owed his title of Raja and his succession to his father to the recommendations of Shah-jahan (then Prince Khurram). Chambiyal (Chamba) was written to, that his own safety and that of his dominions depended on his forwarding at once the cash and property belonging to Suraj-Mal. If he did not, he would speedily be destroyed. As he was aware of what had happened to Suraj-Mal, he sent his (Suraj-Mal's) cash and goods and that fugitive's brother, Madhu-Singh, in charge of his own son and his brother, to the Rai-Raiyan's camp. Rai-Raiyan sent them all on to Shahjahan's camp.”

“ As the rains were coming on and no sufficient supplies could be procured, it was decided by a Council of War to retire on Nurpur. On the 24th Shawwal, 1028 A.H., equal to the 1st of Mihr (Oct. 4, A.D. 1619), Kangra was invested. Commanders were told off to the various batteries, the excavation of covered ways began and mines with galleries were put in hand. The besieged relied on the strength of their fortress and strengthened their bastions and curtains. Fighting became frequent. The garrison were reduced to such straits from the absence of grain, that they stripped the bark from the trees and, boiling it, used it to keep body and soul together. Brought to the last extremity they asked for terms. It is the characteristic of the Mughal dynasty to be

merciful and forgiving. Ala' Hazrat (Prince Khurram), out of the generosity of his disposition, accepted their petition and applied to Jahangir for the pardon of their offences. A *farman* came stating that they were foregiven, on condition that the fortress be at once made over to Rai-Raiyan, and they come themselves to the Imperial court. There they would have their lives spared."

"After this Imperial order was received, on the 25th Zu'l Hijjah, 1029 A.H., equivalent to the 1st of Adar (16th Nov. A.D. 1620), Hari Singh (Chand), son of Triloka-Chand, Chief of the garrison, being then twelve years of age, made over the fortress to Rai-Raiyan. He (Hari-Chand) with one Sikandar, his uncle and chief officer, and the rest of the garrison, appeared before the Rai-Raiyan. He left trusted men in charge of the fortress, and placing Hari-Singh (Chand) and the rest under surveillance, he began his march to the Court."

"On an early day in Di of the year 1029 A.H. (1st Dec. 25th A.D. 1620), on the day when Jahangir, after his march from Kashmir, entered Lahore, he (Rai-Raiyan) was received in audience. As he had been the victor in such a campaign, on the prayer of Prince Khurram he was made a Raja by Jahangir."

The siege had lasted one year, two months and some days, as we learn from the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*.

Jahangir, then near Lahore, on his return from Kashmir, was rejoiced to hear of the capture of Kangra Fort, and in his Memoirs we find the following from his own hand: "On this day (5th Muharram, A.H. 1029=20th November, A.D. 1620), the joy-enhancing news of the conquest of the fort of Kangra rejoiced our mind.¹ In thankfulness for this great boon and important victory, which was one of the renewed favours of the Bestower of Gifts, I bowed the head of humility at the throne of the merciful Creator, and beat with loud sounds the drum of gladness and pleasure. Kangra is an ancient fort to the north of Lahore, situated in the midst of the hill country, famous for its strength and the difficulty of conquering it. Who was the founder of this fort God only knows. The belief of the Zamindars of the Province of the Punjab is that, during this period the said fort has never passed to any other tribe, and no stranger has stretched out

¹ *Waqiat-i-Jahangiri*. Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, pages 374-75. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans., Volume II, pages 183-186.

to it the hand of dominion. Wisdom is from Allah, but certainly from the time when the voice of Islam and the sound of the established religion of Muhammad reached Hindustan, not one of the Sultans of lofty dignity has obtained the victory over it. Sultan Firoz-Shah, with all his power and might, himself went to conquer it, and besieged it for a long time. As he knew that the strength of the fort was such that as long as the means for holding it and provisions were with the besieged, victory over them was unattainable, *volens volens*, he was contented with the coming of the Raja to pay his respects to him, and withheld his hand. They say that the Raja prepared an offering and an entertainment, and at his request took the Sultan inside the fort. The Sultan, after going round and inspecting it, said to the Raja that to bring a king like him inside the fort was not according to the dictates of caution. What could he do if the body of men who were in attendance were to attack him and take possession of the fort. The Raja made a sign to his men, and instantaneously an army of valiant men armed and accoutred, came out from a concealed place and saluted the Sultan. The Sultan became suspicious and anxious about an attack from these men, and suspected some stratagem. The Raja came forward and kissed the ground of service, and said : ' I have no thought but that of service and obedience, but as has been spoken by the auspicious tongue, I observe far-sighted caution, for all times are not the same.' The Sultan applauded him. The Raja, having accompanied him for some stages, obtained leave to return. After this, whoever sat on the throne of Delhi sent an army to subdue Kangra, but the thing went no further. My revered father also sent a large army once, under the leadership of Husain Quli Khan, who, after approved service, was honoured with the title of Khan Jahan. Whilst the siege was in progress, the outbreak of Ibrahim Husain Mirza took place. That ingrate fled from Gujarat, and raised the flag of rebellion and calamity towards the Punjab. Khan Jahan was compelled to raise the siege, and to turn to extinguish the flame of his sedition. Thus the acquisition of the fort fell into the knot of delay. The thought was continually lurking in the royal mind : ' The longed-for Fair one does not show her face from the secret place of Destiny.' When by the grace of the glorious God, the throne of the State was adorned by the existence of this suppliant, this was one of the holy wars which I considered incumbent on me. In the first instance I dispatched Murtaza Khan, who was Governor

of the Punjab, with a force of brave men, skilled in war, to conquer the fort. This important matter had not been completed when Murtaza Khan attained to the mercy of God (died). After this 'Jauhar-Mal,' son of Raja Basu, undertook this duty.¹ I sent him, giving him the command of the army. That wicked one, taking to evil revolt and ingratitude, committed sin, and dispersion found its way into that army, and the acquisition of the fort fell into the knot of delay. No long time elapsed before that ingrate received the recompense of his deeds and went to hell, as has been described in its own place. In fine, at this time Khurram undertook that duty, and sent his own servant, Sundar² with all haste, and many of the royal servants obtained leave to go to his support. On the 16th Shawwal, A.H. 1029 (5th September A.D. 1620), the armies, having invested the fort, erected batteries. Looking to the ways of entrance into and exit from the fort with the eye of caution, they closed the road for the entrance of provisions. By degrees the besieged became straitened, and when there remained in the fort no grain that they could eat, for four months more they boiled dry grass with salt and ate it. When destruction was imminent, and no hope of escape was left, they asked for quarter and surrendered the fort."

"On Thursday, the 1st Muharram, A.H. 1030 (6th November, A.D. 1621), the victory unattainable by all preceding Sultans of lofty dignity, and which appeared distant to the short-sighted, God Almighty of His own grace and mercy granted to this suppliant. The troops, who had displayed praiseworthy activity in this service, were exalted according to their exertions and fitness by increase of *mansab* and dignities."

There is a discrepancy in the records as to the actual year of surrender, one authority has 1029 A.H.=A.D. 1620 and the other 1030 A.H.=A.D. 1621; but the first date is the correct one.³ From the Emperor's note as well as other

¹ Jauhar Mal or Chaupar Mal is evidently a clerical error for Surnaj Mal.

² The title of Raja Bikramajit was conferred on Sundar Das, Rai-Raiyan, at a later time.

³ According to the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* the fort was invested on the 10th of Shawwal, A.H. 1029 (5th September, A.D. 1620), and captured on the 1st of Muharram, A.H. 1030 (6th November, A.D. 1621). The respective dates given in the *Badshahnamah* are the 24th of Shawwal, A.H. 1028 (24th September 1619), and the 25th of Zu'l Hij, A.H. 1029 (11th November 1620). The *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* (ii, 184—190) agrees with the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. The real dates were 10th Shawwal, A.H. 1028 (5th September, A.D. 1619) and 1st Muharram, A.H. 1029 (16th November, A.D. 1620). Jahangir received the news in Lahore on 20th November, i.e., four days later.

indications it would appear that Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) was in command of the expedition, though not actually at Kangra. His camp may have been at Nurpur or Pathankot.

The following extract from the *Shash Fateh-i-Kangra*, probably by Jalala Tibatiba in the reign of Shahjahan, is given as an example of the flowery and extravagant style of some of the Muhammadan authors.¹ It was written to show the author's ingenuity in composing, in six different styles, the account of the capture of Kangra Fort. The early part of the First Conquest is taken up with an account of the rebellion of Suraj-Mal of Nurpur, which was suppressed by the Rai-Raiyan, also called Raja Bikramajit. It then continues as follows :— "Immediately on approaching the fort (Kangra), he (Rai-Raiyan) surrounded it with his troops ; and although his religion was calculated to make him revolt from such a proceeding, yet, for the sake of his master, he used all his exertions to conquer it. He acted contrary to his creed, of which he was a most devoted adherent, rather than become guilty of disloyalty and ingratitude, and considered the service of his master equal to the service of God ; for in this fort there was a temple of Devi, who is one of the greatest goddesses of the Hindus, and to worship which idol people resorted to this place in great numbers from the remotest parts of the country. Raja Bikramajit was one of the most faithful and obedient servants of the throne. He was attached to the Emperor's interests to such a degree that in promoting them he would fear no danger, and there was nothing too difficult to be surmounted by his bold and daring spirit. Although his ancestor did not possess the title of 'Raja,' and hereditary honours did not, therefore, inspire any confidence in his character, yet by his own meritorious services he obtained the title of Bikramajit, and the *mansab* or rank of a commander of 5,000 horse. Entire power was placed in his hands in the execution of the present command. In short, Bikramajit, having surrounded the fort, ordered entrenchments to be made and mines to be dug in their proper places. Each officer was appointed to a certain service and he himself remained to superintend the whole. He led on several gallant attacks upon the fort. The warriors of the royal army fought very bravely with the enemy, and the Rajputs displayed astonishing feats of valour. The besiegers at last effected a

¹ Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, pages 524-5-6.

of the skirts of the mountains was not pleasant, and I found no place appropriate for a residence, I resolved to proceed further to the mountains of Jammu and Kangra. On the 14th I arrived at Bahlun, a dependency of Siba, and as I had a great desire for the air of Kangra, I left my great camp at this place, and proceeded onwards with a few special attendants and servants towards the fortress. I'timad-ud daulah (father of Nur Jahan Begam) was ill, so I left him behind with the camp under the charge of Sadik Khan, *Mir-bakhshi*. On the following day the intelligence was brought that a change for the worse had come over the Khan, and the signs of dissolution were manifest. Moved by the distress of Nur Jahan Begam and by the affection I had for him, I returned to the camp. At the close of the day I went to see him. He was at the time insensible, and Nur Jahan, who was by my side, made signs and asked if I perceived (his critical state). I stayed by his pillow two hours; whenever he came to his senses his words were intelligible and sensible. On the 17th of the month he died, and I felt inexpressible sorrow at the loss of such an able and faithful minister, and so wise and kind a friend."

"After this I went on towards Kangra and after four days' march encamped on the river Ban-Ganga.....On the 24th of the month I went to pay a visit to the fortress, and I gave orders that the *Kazi*, the Chief Justice and others learned in the law of Islam, should accompany me, and perform the ceremonies required by our religion. After passing over about half a *kos* we mounted to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *Khutba* was read, a cow was killed, and other things were done such as had never been done before, from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighty for this great conquest which no previous monarch had been able to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the fortress."

As we have already seen, one of the gates in the fort is called *Jahangiri Darwaza*, having been erected by order of the Emperor. On the gate, it is said, was inscribed the date of the conquest, on a marble slab.¹ When Raja Sansar-Chand

¹ Shortly before the earthquake of 1905, two fragments of a white marble slab, containing an incomplete Persian inscription, were found in the Ambika Devi temple in Kangra fort and sent to the Lahore Museum. There is good reason to believe that these are fragments of the slab referred to. Presumably the slab was broken in pieces when the fort was captured by Sansar-Chand in 1786. Vide *Kangra Gazetteer*, 1924, page 505, and *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905-6, page 13.

took the fort, in A.D. 1786, it is said that he removed the stone with Jahangir's name on it, and stored it in the room near the gateway without injuring it. One account states that in A.D. 1837 when Prince Nau Nihal-Singh was on a visit to the hills on pilgrimage, to visit the holy places, he saw the stone and had it removed to Lahore, where it stood in his mansion, but this is probably incorrect.

There is also an interesting reference in the Memoirs to an incident relating to Chamba which occurred on the occasion of Jahangir's visit to Kangra. He was waited upon by the hill Chiefs, and among them was the Raja of Chamba. In all probability many of the hill Chiefs must have been in attendance on the Emperor while he was in Kangra, and it is unfortunate that none of them are mentioned, except the Raja of Chamba. His tender of allegiance was evidently a cause of gratification to Jahangir, as he states that, until then, the ruler of Chamba "had not obeyed any king nor sent offerings." He is also called the greatest Zamindar in the Kangra Hills. The Emperor was impressed with his appearance and demeanour, and conferred many favours upon him. His brother also did obeisance and was similarly honoured.

The Raja of Chamba at the time was Bala-Bhadra, who had been temporarily removed from power, his place being taken by his son, Janardan. It was probably the latter who waited on Jahangir, along with his brother, Bishambar. Both of them were killed in the following year in a war with Jagat-Singh of Nurpur. The reference is interesting, as proving that Chamba had not then come under the control of Nurpur, as it did shortly afterwards.

From its capture in November A.D. 1620 Kangra Fort remained in the possession of the Mughals till A.D. 1783, when it fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The first Kiladar or Governor was Nawab Ali Khan who was succeeded by his son, whose name is believed to have been Hurmat Khan. During the reign of Shahjahan, the fort was held by Nawab Asad Ullah Khan and Koch Quli Khan, the latter retaining charge for seventeen years till his death. He is buried on the banks of the Mununi river, a branch of the Ban-Ganga, which flows under Kangra Fort. According to tradition the greater part of the State was annexed after the fall of the fort, only the district of Rajgir being left, as a *jagir* for the support of the royal family.

After the fall of the fort the capital must have been transferred elsewhere, but the records are silent on the subject. In the unsettled condition of the country the Raja possibly had no fixed place of residence. That the *taluqa* of Rajgir was granted as a *jagir* seems fairly certain, but it was probably resumed soon afterwards in consequence of rebellion. Hari-Chand is said to have been flayed alive, and this corroborates the assumption that he was engaged in guerilla warfare during the whole of his reign. As he was only twelve years old in A.D. 1620, he may have lived till A.D. 1635, but according to tradition he was killed by Jahangir, and if so the event must have taken place before A.D. 1627, the year in which that Emperor died.

Chandar-Bhan-Chand, c. A.D. 1627.—As Hari-Chand died childless there was probably a long interregnum, during which one Mian Chander-Bhan-Chand continued to prosecute the guerilla warfare against the Mughals. He was descended from Kalyan-Chand, younger brother of Raja Dharm-Chand, and was probably the next in succession to the *gaddi* after Hari-Chand. His spirited but useless defiance of the Mughals still lives in the grateful memory of the people, who love to tell of the long and brave resistance which he offered. He began by plundering the country, and forces were sent in pursuit but failed to capture him. At length an army was sent against him from Delhi, when he retired to the lofty hill, 9,000 feet high, on the outskirts of the Dhaula-Dhar, which has ever since been called by his name, *Chandar Bhan ka tila*.¹ He was eventually captured and taken to Delhi, where he was detained a close prisoner. There are no references to Kangra in any of the Muhammadan records of that time, and we are dependent chiefly on local tradition, which has preserved many stories of Chandar-Bhan's exploits.

A work of comparatively recent date, the *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, already referred to, has a different account of those times, evidently drawn from tradition. According to it Chandar-Bhan-Chand was in the Kangra Fort at the time of the siege, and effected his escape. He then entered on a career of plunder, and had a reputation like that of one Mian Dido in Jammu territory, in the reign of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh. The imperialist nobles in the fort went in pursuit of him but failed to capture him, and this state of guerilla warfare lasted for many years. At length in despair, it is said, those in charge of the country devised a plan for restoring order,

¹ This hill is a spur from the Dhaula Dhar above Dadh, and half-way between Dharmasala and Palampur.

viz., that the Emperor should grant a *jagir* to Chandar-Bhan-Chand on condition of his submission, which he accepted, and was killed at the siege of Maukot in A.D. 1641.

The period of Kangra history, for some time after the capture of the fort in A.D. 1620, is very confused and uncertain, but it seems clear, as already noted, that on the occupation of the fort the whole territory was annexed, only the *jagir* of Rajgir being assigned to the royal family.¹ With this Hari-Chand was dissatisfied and broke out into rebellion and he seems to have given trouble all through his reign till captured and killed, probably about A.D. 1627. The guerilla war was then taken up by Chandar-Bhan who may have been previously associated with Hari-Chand, and was prolonged for many years. The story of his having accepted the *jagir* of Rajgir is improbable. He is said to have been finally captured in the reign of Aurangzeb, possibly about A.D. 1660. In all the documents he is referred to as *Mian* Chandar-Bhan and is not given the title of *Raja*, from which we may perhaps assume that there was no fully invested Chief of the Katoch house in power for many years. It is not even certain that he was next in the succession after Hari-Chand, though he probably was, but in any case his brave struggle for the independence of his country secured the devoted attachment of his countrymen, who to the present time hold his name in grateful remembrance. Chandar-Bhan is said to have built a fort near Nirwanah, east of Dharmasala, and the ruins of his fort on the Chandar-Bhan hill may still be seen. On his capture or death he was succeeded by his son, Vijai-Ram-Chand.

Vijai-Ram-Chand, c. A.D. 1660.—According to the *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, Vijai-Ram was summoned by the Emperor on his father's death, and failing to appear, the *rajtilak* or mark of investiture was conferred on his brother, Udai-Ram, along with the grant of the *jagir* of Rajgir and also five other *talugas*, *viz.*, Nadaun, Palam, Mahal-Sarai, Jaisukh and Malhar. It seems more probable, however, that Vijai-Ram succeeded his father. He founded the town of Vijaipur or Bijapur which was his capital, and it continued to be the place of residence of the Rajas till the reign of Raja Ghamand-Chand. The old palace buildings are still in existence though now in a state of decay and untenanted. Vijai-Ram-Chand died without a direct heir and was succeeded by his brother, Udai-Ram-Chand.

¹ The *jagir* of Rajgir is situated on the right bank of the Bias above Alampur, including Lambagraon, Jaisinghpur and Bijapur. It is often called *Rajgiri*.

Udai-Ram-Chand, A.D. 1687.—Udai-Ram-Chand's reign seems to have been peaceful, as the guerilla warfare had ceased and the Rajas, realizing the fruitless character of the struggle against a powerful foe, had quietly settled down as tributaries of the Mughal. He died in A.D. 1690 and was followed by his son, Bhim-Chand.

Bhim-Chand, c. A.D. 1690.—During Aurangzeb's reign the Kangra Fort was successively under the charge of Sayyid Husain Khan, Hasan Abdulla Khan Pathan, and Nawab Sayyid Khalil Ullah Khan. "Their rule," Cunningham remarks, "was probably marked by the same intolerant bigotry which distinguished Aurangzeb's governors in other places, as in Multan, Mathura, Gwalior and Benares, where the Hindu temples were destroyed to make way for mosques." Bhim-Chand is mentioned in the records of the time as having leagued with Guru Gobind-Singh in order to repel an invasion of his country by the Raja of Jammu and a Mughal Chief, named Mian Khan. In this war he was successful.¹

Bhim-Chand followed a pacific course and sought to gain the favour of the Emperor by attendance at court, and in consequence he was called "Diwan." He built a temple at Bijapur which still exists. His younger brother, Kirpal-Chand, made the Bhawarnawali *Kuhl* or watercourse, from one of the snow-fed mountain torrents of the Dhaula-Dhar, above Bandla, which is the longest watercourse in Kangra District and supplies a large area. It has made Kirpal-Chand's name more famous than that of any Raja.

Bhim-Chand died in A.D. 1697 and was followed, by Alam-Chand.

Alam-Chand, c. A.D. 1697.—This Chief had only a brief reign and died in A.D. 1700. He founded Alampur, near Sujampur, where he chiefly resided. In after years this place was greatly enlarged by Sansar-Chand, who also made a large garden, which was famous in its day. Alam-Chand was succeeded by his son, Hamir-Chand.

Hamir-Chand, A.D. 1700.—Hamir Chand had a long reign of forty-seven years, but about the events of his time the records are silent. Some portion of the territory was still under the Mughals, who continued to hold the fort. In such circumstances the Katoch Rajas doubtless considered discretion as the better part of valour, and quietly

¹ Cf. Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Volume I, page 103.

bided their time. Many indications must have occurred in the course of Hamir-Chand's long reign, that the break-up of the Mughal Empire was not far distant. Hamir-Chand built a small fort near the place now called Hamirpur, from which that place, as well as the Hamirpur Tahsil, afterwards received their names. He lived long enough to see the appointment of Nawab Saif Ali Khan, about A.D. 1740, who was fated to be the last Mughal Governor of Kangra.

Abhaya-Chand, A.D. 1747.—Being probably in middle life at the time of his accession this Raja's reign was a short one, and he died childless. He erected the *Thakurdwara* in Alampur, and also a fort called Abhayamanpur, or Tira,¹ in 1748, on the hill above Sujanpur, which was dismantled in 1849.

Ghamir-Chand, A.D. 1750.—On the death of Abhaya-Chand without a male heir the *gaddi* passed to his uncle, *Ghamir-Chand*, the younger brother of Hamir-Chand. His reign, however, was a very brief one, and he died in A.D. 1751, leaving eleven sons who seem to have been disliked by the officials and the people. They were, therefore, set aside, and Ghamand-Chand, a son of Ghamir-Chand's younger brother, was raised to power.

Ghamand-Chand, A.D. 1751.—Ghamand-Chand succeeded to the *gaddi* at an eventful period in the history of India. The Mughal Empire was then in the throes of dissolution; Ahmad Shah Durani from the North and the Marathas from the South struggled for the mastery, and everywhere confusion and disorder prevailed. In A.D. 1752 the Panjab, along with the Hill States, was ceded to Ahmad Shah Durani by the Delhi Emperor. The hour had come at last and the Katoch Raja, like many more, was not slow to strike a blow for the freedom of his country. Taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed, he recovered all the territory that had been wrested from his ancestors by the Mughals, with the exception of Kangra Fort, which held out under the last of the Mughal Nawabs, Saif Ali Khan. Though completely isolated and holding nothing outside the range of his guns, this brave man remained faithful to his trust, and maintained his position against all assailants for forty years. During the whole of that time, it is said, he continued to correspond direct with Delhi. Once only—in 1758—he

¹ Tira was the name of the fort-palace on the hill and Sujanpur that of the town on the plain below. Tira means "palace" hence the double name, which dates from the reign of Raja Ghamand-Chand, who founded the town.

was compelled to bow to a man stronger than himself,—Adina Beg Khan, then Governor of the Doab, and afterwards Viceroy of the Panjab.

In 1758¹ Ghamand-Chand was appointed Nazim, or Governor of the Jalandhar Doab by Ahmad Shah Durani, and thus acquired the supremacy over all the Hill States of the Jalandhar Circle, between the Satluj and the Ravi. He also annexed Chauki, the northern half of Kutlehr State, and seized the *taluka* of Palam from Chamba. He is also said to have strengthened the fort of Pathiyar, which stood on a lofty ridge not far from Palampur, but is now in ruins. Kulu also was invaded as mentioned by Moorcroft,² and it was probably on that occasion that the figures on the Bajaura Temple were mutilated by his mercenaries. Early in his reign Ghamand-Chand recruited a large army of 4,000 Muhammadans, chiefly Rohillas and Afghans, and with it he attacked the Kangra Fort, but was unable to capture it.

Ghamand-Chand was a strong ruler, under whom the Kangra State was restored to its ancient limits and to much of its former prestige. Sujanpur on the Bias, above Nadaun, usually called Tira-Sujanpur, the residence of his descendants, was founded by him, and embellished with many fine buildings. He died in 1774 and was succeeded by his son, Tegh-Chand.

Tegh-Chand, A.D. 1774.—Tegh Chand's reign was brief. He maintained a large army of mercenaries like his father, and pursued the same policy, but of the events of his reign we know little. On his demise in 1775 his son, Sansar-Chand, came to the throne.

Sansar-Chand II, A. D 1775.—Sansar-Chand was the most notable Chief who ever ruled in Kangra. He was only ten years of age when he succeeded to the *gaddi*, and his accession marked a time when all was confusion and disorder both in the hills and on the plains.³ The Panjab had been ceded to the Duranis, but their rule was never fully established. As Mr. Barnes remarks, "The same vigour of character which secured the territory was not displayed in the measures adopted to retain it." There was indeed an Afghan Viceroy at Lahore, but the old Mughal Governors were practically independent in outlying portions of the

¹ *Kangra Settlement Report*, page 9.

² Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 170.

³ Sansar-Chand was born in January 1765 at Bijapur, then the place of residence of the family. A marble slab on the wall of the old palace records the date.

province, and Saif Ali Khan the last of the Mughal Kiladars still held his own in Kangra Fort. From the middle of the eighteenth century the Sikhs had been rising into power, and under their various leaders were everywhere engaged in plunder and rapine.

Jassa-Singh Ramgarhia was the first of these chieftains to invade the Kangra Hills, and Kangra, Chamba, Nurpur and some other States became tributary to him. In 1775 he was defeated on the plains by Jai-Singh Kanheya, another Sikh chieftain, and had to retire from the hills, leaving the supremacy over the Hill States in the hands of his rival.

Sansar-Chand's chief ambition was the capture of Kangra Fort, the ancient home of his ancestors, and soon after coming into power an attempt was made, but without success. He then called in to his aid Jai-Singh Kanheya, the Sikh chieftain already referred to, and, in 1781-82, the combined forces again laid siege to the stronghold.¹ The old Nawab was then dying and on his demise the fort was surrendered in 1783, but by stratagem it fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The story of its capture as found in one of the records is as follows:—"The siege had lasted a year when the Nawab died, and his remains had to be conveyed to the burial-ground outside the fort. The Hazuris, or Mughal gunners from Delhi, were in secret league with Sansar-Chand, and had arranged to give up the fort to him for a suitable reward, when a favourable opportunity presented itself. As the Nawab's corpse was being conveyed from the fort to the Imambara for burial by his sons, the Hazuris sent word to Sansar-Chand to seize the opportunity for an attack. Jai-Singh also, however, had information, and as his force was nearest the fort, some of his men secured an entrance first." Sansar-Chand, though much chagrined, had to acquiesce and bide his time.² The siege had lasted more than a year.

This must be the siege referred to by Mr. Forster, the traveller, who passed through the Kangra Hills in March 1783, on his way from Bilaspur to Nurpur and Jammu.³

¹ According to Muhammad Latif the siege took place in 1774, but this must be incorrect as Sansar-Chand became Raja only in 1775. Barnes has 1781-82; Cf. *History of the Punjab*, Latif, pages 309-310, and *Kangra Settlement Report*, page 9. Forster states that the Mughals still held the fort in March 1783.

² Another version is that Sansar-Chand sent only a few men, who took the Sikhs along with them into the fort, and Jai-Singh refused to surrender it to Sansar-Chand.

³ Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, 1798, Volume I, pages 208-9.

He says :—" To deduce this eventful matter *de novo* I must call your attention to the days of Acbar, who is said to have been the first Mahometan prince who reduced the northern mountains of Hindustan to the obedience of the Empire. Towards the northern limit of Kalour (Kahlur) is a stronghold on an eminence, called the Kote Kangrah, the reduction of which detained Acbar, who commanded the expedition in person, a whole year, according to the tradition of this quarter. To reward one of his officers who had signalized himself in this service, he bestowed on him the captured fort, with a considerable space of adjacent territory. The descendants of this Chief, who are of the Sheah sect of Mahometans, continued in the possession until the present period, when the Rajah of Kangrah, on some pretence, laid the districts waste and besieged the fort." At that time the Rani of Bilaspur, acting as regent for her infant son, was at war with Sansar-Chand and in league with the garrison in the fort. "Unable himself," says Forster, "to repel the enemy, the Mahometan solicited the aid of the Belaspour Ranee who, with the spirit of a heroine, afforded speedy and vigorous succour to her neighbour, whose cause she has already revenged by plundering and destroying almost every village in Kangrah, the Chief of which now vainly asserts, that the Ranee, seeing his country destitute of defence, seized, under colour of assisting her ally, the occasion of augmenting her own power."

Mr. Forster entered the hills at Nahun and crossed the Satluj at Bilaspur. The common road onward to Jammu, as he states, lay through Nadaun and Haripur, but these places being overrun by the Sikhs, he was obliged to deviate from the usual track and proceed to the westward. He passed through the Bilaspur Camp to the Kangra Camp, and he estimated the Bilaspur army at "about 300 horses and 8,000 footmen, armed with matchlocks, swords, spears and clubs, huddled together on two sides of a hill, in a deep state of confusion and filth."

At the Kangra Camp, Forster says, only a small body, chiefly of horse, was stationed, the greater part of the forces, under the command of the Raja, being engaged in the siege of Kangra Fort. The surrender of the fort must have taken place soon afterwards. The camp of the Bilaspur army seems to have been between Kumara Hatti (Kahlur) and Lalalri (Hamirpur Tahsil in Kangra) just south of the boundary of Hamirpur Tahsil. It is interesting to note

that Forster speaks of Kangra under its ancient name of Katochin. He says :—"The territory of Kangra or Katochin is limited on the north and north-west by Huriepour (Haripur), on the east by Chambay (Chamba), on the south by Kalour (Bilaspur), and on the west by the Punjab. The ordinary revenue, estimated at seven lacks of rupees, has been much diminished by the Chief's alliance with the Sicques." Forster's reference to the capture of the fort by Akbar is incorrect. The siege in A.D. 1572 was conducted by Husain Quli Khan, and Akbar was not present. That the fort was under the command of a hereditary succession of governors is also improbable.

Vigne also is wrong in stating that Kangra was originally a *jagir*, which the Mughal Emperors granted to different Nawabs, and that it never had its own Raja. He may simply have been misinformed, for it seems hardly possible that the ancient history of the State could have been forgotten. His account of the capture of the fort after the death of Saif Ali Khan, the last Mughal Governor, is also confused and inaccurate. He says :¹—"The last of these Nawabs was named Syf Ali, who made himself independent when the dynasty of Delhi was declining. After his death, his Vuzir, Hazara Byrsa, was also master of the neighbouring provinces of Koteli and Rilū, and took the revenues of these places for his own use, at the same time that Sinsar-Chund of Tira was laying siege to Kangra. The father-in-law of Ranjit was a great friend of the Vuzir and marched to relieve the castle of Kangra, but was called away by Ranjit and killed in a fray at Amritsar. Sinsar-Chund then took possession of the country for twenty-five years. These are probably the incidents of the war, noticed by Forster in his *Travels* in the year 1783, Volume I, page 240."

Muhammad Latif ² again states that Jai-Singh Kanheya on being called in by Sansar-Chand, bribed Jewan Khan, son of Saif Ali Khan, who was then dead, to vacate the fort, and thus got possession of it. The various accounts are thus conflicting, but probably that first given is the correct one. The fort remained in Jai-Singh's possession for four years, from its capture in 1783, though Sansar-Chand seems to have made several attempts to reduce it. In 1783 a combination was formed against Jai-Singh by Maha-Singh Sukerchakia, assisted by Jassa-Singh Ramgarhia and Sansar-

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, page 137.

² Latif, *History of the Punjab*, pages 309-310.

Chand. The opposing armies met in battle near Batala, and Gurbakhsh-Singh, the favourite son of Jai-Singh, was killed. The loss of his son and of a part of his territory broke the heart of the old chieftain, and from that time his power began to decline. For three years Sansar-Chand continued to press his claim to Kangra Fort, and at length in 1786 a compromise was made, by Jai-Singh surrendering the fort and the supremacy over the Hill States, in exchange for the restoration of territory on the plains which had been conquered by Sansar-Chand.

Cunningham's account also differs somewhat from the others.¹ He says:—"In 1783 Kangra was besieged by Jay-Singh Ghani, a Sikh leader. The old Governor, Saifula, died during the siege, and after holding out for five months the fort was surrendered by his son, Zulfikar Khan. Sansar-Chand, the titular Raja of Kangra, is said to have instigated this siege and to have been disappointed when the Sikh Chief kept Kangra for himself. Four years later he obtained the aid of other Sikh leaders, and in 1787 Jay Singh was reluctantly obliged to surrender the fort into the hands of Sansar-Chand."

With the possession of the fort and supreme power in the hills, Sansar-Chand was able to prosecute his ambitious designs. Supported by his large army of mercenaries he completely overawed the hill Chiefs, made them tributary and compelled them to attend his Court, and send contingents for his military expeditions. In this way, says Mr. Barnes, "he gained a renown which had not been surpassed by any of his ancestors, and ruled despotically for twenty years, none daring to resist his will."²

Not content with the recovery of his own patrimony, Sansar-Chand also demanded from the hill Chiefs the surrender to himself, as lord paramount, of all the fertile tracts that had been included in the Imperial demesne, attached to the fort in the time of the Mughals. In pursuance of this policy the Chamba Chief was required to make over Rihlu, and on his refusal, the country was invaded and he was killed in battle at Nerti, near Shahpur, in defending

¹ *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, page 162.

² There are twenty-two doors leading into the great darbar hall at Tira-Sujanpur—eleven on each side—one of which is said to have been assigned to each ruling Chief on the occasion of his attendance at Sansar-Chand's court. This was probably meant to indicate his claim to the paramount power over the twenty-two States of the hills—eleven being to the east and eleven to the west of the Ravi—but it is improbable that any Chief to the west of the Ravi was ever present.

his rights. Mandi also was in a similar manner subdued and the capital sacked, the young Raja being made captive and retained as a prisoner at Nadaun for twelve years. Three districts of the State were also seized, one of which was given to Suket, another to Kulu, and the third Sansar-Chand retained for himself. His attempt to capture the fortress of Kamlahgarh was unsuccessful.¹

Other States were treated in a similar manner. For example, in Kotlehr State the district of Chauki, forming the northern half of the principality, had been seized by Ghamand-Chand, and Sansar-Chand now annexed the southern half, so that the Raja was entirely dispossessed. On the Gurkha invasion the State was restored.

Sansar-Chand's fame spread far and wide and his court became the resort of all classes of people, in search of pleasure or personal advantage. An Indian writer thus describes this golden age in Kangra history :²—"For many years he passed his days in great felicity. He was generous in conduct, kind to his subjects, just as Nushirvan, and a second Akbar in the recognition of men's good qualities. Crowds of people of skill and talent, professional soldiers and others, resorted to Kangra and gained happiness from his gifts and favours. Those addicted to pleasure, who live for the gratification of others, flocked from all quarters and profited exceedingly by his liberality. Performers and story-tellers collected in such numbers, and received such gifts and favours at his hands, that he was regarded as the Hatim of that age and, in generosity, the Rustam of the time." Many paintings of that time are extant at Kangra, Lambagraon, Guler, Nadaun and other places ; also in the Lahore Museum.

Sansar-Chand is said to have been a great builder, and many places in the State were beautified and embellished by him. He also planted numerous gardens, especially that of Alampur already referred to, which is said to have rivalled the Shalimar Gardens in Lahore. His court seems to have been held chiefly at Amtar near Nadaun in the earlier part of his reign, and it was probably at that time that the following popular saying, recorded by Moorcroft and Vigne, and still widely current in the hills, took its origin :³—

Aega Nadaun

Jaega kaun ?

"Who that comes to Nadaun will go away ?"

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 66.

² *Tarikh-i-Punjab* by Ghulam Muhai-ud-Din, Fourth Daftar.

³ Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, page 133. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 76.

In later years he resided chiefly at Tira-Sujanpur and Alampur.

In 1786 Raja Sansar-Chand made some repairs to the Baijnath temple. Cunningham and Fergusson wrongly assumed that he added the present entrance porch and the two large side balconies.¹

For twenty years Sansar-Chand ruled as undisputed monarch of the hills, and had he been content with the possessions acquired by himself and his ancestors, he might have passed on his kingdom unimpaired to his posterity. But his overweening ambition carried him too far, and, as the Indian writer remarks, "his fortune turned to misfortune and ruin fell upon his life." His dream was to regain the far-reaching dominions of his ancestors and even to establish a Katoh Kingdom in the Panjab. A common saying at his court was "*Lahore parapat*"—"May you acquire Lahore," the wish being father to the thought. But it was only a dream and fated never to be realized.

In 1803-04 he twice invaded the plains in the direction of Hoshiarpur and Bajwarah, but was defeated and driven back by Ranjit-Singh who was then rising into power, and would brook no rivals. Disappointed in his designs on the plains he turned his arms against Kahlur (Bilaspur) and annexed the portion of the State lying on the right bank of the Satluj. This act was his undoing, and led to his downfall and the extinction of his kingdom. How this was brought about must now be briefly told.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the Gurkhas of Nepal had been seized with an ambition for conquest, similar to that of Sansar-Chand, and before the end of the century they had extended their dominion from the Gogra to the Satluj, over the whole of Kumaon,² Garhwal, Sirmaur, and the Simla Hill States. Their design was to establish a great Gurkha Kingdom stretching from Nepal to Kashmir. With a view to this they approached Ranjit-Singh with a proposal for joint action against the Duranis of Kabul, who then ruled the Kashmir Valley, but the Sikh Chief had marked out Kashmir as his own prize, and gave the Gurkhas no encouragement. Sansar-Chand also stood in their way,

¹ A. S. R., Volume V, page 108. *Annual Report. A. S. J. 1905-6*, page 21.

² It is even said that they aimed at the conquest of the Panjab; Cf. Vigne, Volume I, page 138.

and Moorcroft states that on their attempting to invade Kangra he drove them back, and a treaty was concluded by which the Satluj was established as a boundary which neither was to pass.¹

Sansar-Chand's action against Kahlur aroused keen resentment among the other Hill States, and smarting under the many wrongs they had endured at his hands, as well as fearing for their own possessions, the Chiefs formed a coalition against him, and sent a united invitation, through the Raja of Bilaspur, to the Gurkha Commander to invade Kangra. They also promised the aid of their own contingents whenever he crossed the Satluj. This invitation was wholly acceptable to the Gurkhas, for it was in keeping with their ulterior design.

A short time previous to this, Sansar-Chand's army had been weakened by certain changes he had made, for the sake of economy, on, it is said, the advice of Nawab Ghulam Muhammad, the deposed Chief of Rampur, who was living in the State.² In the time of his father and grandfather the force was recruited chiefly from Rohillas, Afghans and Rajputs, drawn from the Delhi and Afghan armies, to whom liberal pay was given. Ghulam Muhammad, who had fought with the British, and had gained a high military reputation, persuaded Sansar-Chand to break up his force, as needlessly expensive, and levy an army of Rohillas on cheaper terms.³ These Ghulam Muhammad himself undertook to raise. As soon as the Gurkhas heard of this change they, in 1805, broke their treaty and invaded the country before the new levies could come up. Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, who is said to have had an army of 40,000 men, crossed the Satluj at Bilaspur and Jiuri in Suket and was joined by the various contingents from the Hill States of the Kangra group, and Bilaspur and Basohli; their united forces amounting to about 10,000 men.⁴ "All of these Rajas," Vigne states, "took an oath of fidelity to the Gurkha Chief, on the understanding that he was to retain Kangra Fort, and they were to be unmolested in their territories."⁵ Letters in the Chamba archives prove that, in 1801, most of the States on both sides of the Ravi were ready to combine against Sansar-Chand.

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 127.

² *Ibid.*, pages 128-9.

³ Ghulam Muhammad died at Tira-Sujanpur where his tomb is shown.

⁴ The Gurkhas crossed the Satluj in the end of 1805.

⁵ Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 137-8-9.

Along with the other States, Chamba sent a force to assist the Gurkhas, under the command of Wazir Nathu, and a letter exists in the State archives from Amar-Singh Thapa to Raja Jit-Singh. He is admonished not to be afraid of Trigad (Kangra). The Gurkhas, Chamba and Kahlur (Bilaspur) are all one, and Chamba is the Wazir of the Gurkhas. Jit-Singh is asked to send to Dugar (Jammu) for help and gather all the other Rajas; he is to keep a part of his army at Rihlu and send the rest to Samt-pal. The letter states that the Katoch troops had seized Palam, but the Gurkhas drove them out and occupied the Pathiyar Fort. There was much need of money, and the Wazir (probably Nathu of Chamba) had written for Rs. 4,000. This sum was to be sent at once and news would be received in two months. The letter is not dated, but was probably written in 1806-07.

A second letter also exists, in the same handwriting but without name or date, in which assistance in money is asked, and it is stated that Rs. 4,000 had been promised, of which only Rs. 1,000 had been sent.¹

It is interesting to note that Kangra was still known as Trigadh, that is, Trigarta, down to that time. The name has now become disused, though well known.

The first encounter took place in Mahal Morian, and Sansar-Chand made a brave stand, but was defeated, and though the new levies under Ghulam Muhammad came to his aid, they too were encountered and dispersed.² The Gurkhas then advanced into the country, and on reaching Nadaun they liberated the Raja of Mandi, who, as already stated, had been detained as a prisoner for twelve years, and sent him back to his State. Sansar-Chand first took up a position at Tira-Sujanpur to harass the enemy, and later sought refuge in Kangra Fort along with his family. The supplies of grain for the garrison had been sufficient for twelve years, but want of care and actual waste had exhausted them in a much shorter period, while the sources of supply in Guler had been closed by the defection of the Guleria Raja, Sansar-Chand's own near relative, and the head of the senior branch of the Katoch clan; so heavy had his hand been even upon his own kinsmen, that they all deserted him in his hour of need.

¹ *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, Appendix VI, page 73. C. 57, 58, with which cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 140; also Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 137-8-9.

² Vigne states that Maharaja Holkar offered to send troops to oppose the Gurkhas, but Sansar-Chand declined the offer. Holkar was then in the Panjab (1805) with an army of 15,000 men.

The Gurkhas then advanced into the heart of the State and laid siege to the fort, but all their efforts to capture it were fruitless. For four years they plundered and laid waste the country, and so dreadful were the ravages they committed that the inhabitants deserted their homes and fled into neighbouring states. The country was thus partly depopulated, the land was uncultivated, wild animals roamed about the towns, and grass grew in the deserted streets. "The memory of those disastrous days," says Mr. Barnes, "stands out as a landmark in the annals of the hills. Time is computed with reference to that period and every misfortune, justly or unjustly, is ascribed to that prolific source of misery and distress. The Gurkhas prepared to establish their success. Certain portions of the country were subdued and held by them, other portions, including the fort of Kangra and the principal strongholds, remained in the hands of the Katochas. Each party plundered the districts held by the other to weaken his adversaries' resources. The people, harassed and bewildered, fled to the neighbouring kingdoms, some to Chamba, some to the plains of the Jullundur Doab. Other hill chieftains, incited by Sansar-Chand's former oppressions, made incursions with impunity and aggravated the general disorder. For three years this state of anarchy continued. In the fertile valleys of Kangra not a blade of cultivation was to be seen, grass grew up in the towns and tigers whelped in the streets of Nadam."¹

Meantime the siege of the fort went on. For a time supplies were smuggled in from Pabun, but the Gurkhas cut off these by blocking the river gate of entrance into the fort; and the Raja and the garrison were without food, and subsisted for four months upon little else than the leaves of vegetables.

After the struggle had continued for four years,² Sansar-Chand, rendered desperate by the ruin which had come upon his country, and seeing no hope of relief, applied to Maharaja Ranjit-Singh for help, the Kangra Fort being offered as the price of his assistance. Twice, it is said, the Maharaja set out from Lahore for Kangra, and turned back; once from Sujanypur near Pathankot and once from Nurpur. Sansar-Chand being in despair then opened negotiations with the Gurkhas to arrange a surrender, if permitted to leave

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, page 10.

² Barnes has three years, but Moorcroft states that the siege lasted more than four years; cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 129.

the fort with his family. Vigne states that they required Sansar-Chand to come out of the fort, and take an oath at the shrine of the Devi of Malkara in proof of his sincerity. He sent his Wazir, Naurang, to take the oath, and thus persuaded them to retire from the gate leading to the river, by which his supplies had come in. During the day he amused them by sending out things that were not indispensable and at night brought in fresh supplies. He then secretly left the fort in charge of some of his officers and retired along with his family, disguised as peasants. Once outside the fort and in safety at Tira-Sujanpur, he again sent a request for help to Ranjit-Singh, by his brother, Fateh-Chand. In May 1809, Ranjit-Singh marched from Lahore. Negotiations with the Gurkhas were then broken off. By this time the hill Chiefs had all deserted Amar-Singh Thapa, and were engaged in cutting off his supplies to compel his retirement.¹

For nearly a month a discussion went on at Jwalamukhi, between Ranjit-Singh and the Katoch Chief, regarding the conditions on which help would be given, Ranjit-Singh demanding the surrender of the fort before proceeding to expel the Gurkhas. To this Sansar-Chand declined to agree. At length by the mediation of Wazir Nathu (of Chamba) and the Raja of Guler, an arrangement was come to, and the two monarchs met at the temple of Jwalamukhi, when Sansar-Chand's terms were accepted, and the Maharaja, with his hand over the sacred flame, took an oath to do him no harm.²

It is probable that neither of them was sincere in his engagement to fulfil the terms of the treaty; indeed Prinsep states that Sansar-Chand played a double part through the whole of the negotiations. Notwithstanding his engagement with Ranjit-Singh he could not reconcile himself to the loss of the fort, and entered into a treaty with Amar-Singh, promising to surrender it to him, hoping to keep it against both claimants.³ The Gurkha Commander, on hearing of the agreement with Ranjit-Singh, wrote to warn him against placing any reliance on Sansar-Chand, and asking him to conclude an arrangement for the disposal of the fort and territory for a money equivalent, but his proposals were rejected.

¹ *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar. Cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 129.

² *Ibid.*, Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 139-140. The treaty is said to have been signed in blood. The date is 5th Sawan, Vik. 1866 = 20th July A.D. 1809. (Vide Appendix V).

³ Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Volume I, pages 301-02.

On the advice of one of his officers, the Maharaja then sent for Anirndh-Chand, son of Sansar-Chand, from Tira-Sujanpur. On his arrival he was received with all honour, and placed in charge of Pateh-Singh Ahluwalia, in order to hold him as a hostage for the fulfilment of the treaty. Ranjit-Singh then advanced towards Kangra in August 1809, and attacked the Gurkhas, who were reduced in numbers and decimated by disease, and they began a retreat, ending in flight and their retirement across the Satluj. Four years later, in 1813, the first Nepalese War ensued, on their invading British territory, and after two years of war the Gurkhas were driven back to their original frontier on the Gogra.

After defeating the Gurkhas¹ the Maharaja advanced to the town of Kangra, and with the consent of Sansar-Chand sent Pateh-Singh Ahluwalia, along with Anirndh-Chand, into the fort, to require its surrender. Naurang, Wazir, however, who was in command, declined to make the surrender to any one but his master, from whom he had received charge. The Maharaja then said to Sansar-Chand, "If you value the safety of Anirndh-Chand you must go in person to the fort and order its surrender, otherwise Anirndh-Chand will pay the penalty." Sansar-Chand and the Maharaja then mounted an elephant and proceeded to the gate of the fort, where they were met by a message from Naurang that Sansar-Chand should enter alone.

This he did accompanied by Pateh-Singh Ahluwalia, and Naurang then asked a written order from his master, absolving him of all responsibility and requiring him to surrender the fort. Having done this, the Raja took Naurang by the hand and led him out of the fort, and the Maharaja with a few of his followers entered and took possession.² To Sansar-Chand he gave a writing guaranteeing to him the possession of the State, except the portion attached to the fort in Mughal times, consisting of 66 villages in the Kangra Valley :³ and a Sikh garrison was then placed in the fort.

Dosa-Singh Majithia was appointed Nazim or Governor of the fort and the administration of the Kangra Hills, and he is said to have treated Sansar-Chand with all honour and respect.

¹ *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar.

² Kangra Fort was surrendered on 24th August 1809.

³ Called in the treaty the district of Sandhata.

With the cession of Kangra Fort to Ranjit-Singh, the Kangra State, as well as all the other States of the Jalandhar group, became subject and tributary to the Sikhs. From that time Sansar-Chand retired to Tira-Sujanpur. Once a year he had to go to Lahore to pay his respects to the Maharaja, doubtless a galling duty to him, but he was always treated with every honour, though apprehensive that sooner or later he would be detained a prisoner.

It is related of him that on one occasion when on a visit to the Sikh court and seated at the side of the Maharaja, he happened to yawn, whereupon Ranjit-Singh said jokingly, "*Lahore parapat*," evidently referring to the saying which had been customary at Sansar-Chand's court in better days. The Raja was, however, equal to the occasion and remarked, "*Jo hua so parapat*," meaning, "whatever happens is a gain."

As years passed, Ranjit-Singh seems to have become less considerate of his once powerful rival, and we learn from Mr. Moorcroft that Sansar-Chand was subjected to many indignities. We are fortunate in having an interesting narrative of Mr. Moorcroft's visit to Sansar-Chand's court in 1820. He had crossed the Satluj with his caravan at Bilaspur, on his way to Ladakh, and on reaching Mandi was told that he could not proceed further without the special permission of Ranjit-Singh. He, therefore, left everything at Mandi in charge of Mr. Trebeck, his travelling companion, and proceeded to Lahore. Having obtained the necessary authority he returned *via* Nadaun and Tira-Sujanpur, and after paying a long visit to Sansar-Chand's court at Alampur, rejoined his camp in Kulu.

Mr. Moorcroft has left a graphic account of his experiences at Sansar-Chand's capital, where he was treated with the utmost kindness and generosity. The narrative conveys a very favourable impression of the Katoch Chief. He was then only fifty-four years old, but trial and misfortune had mellowed his character and left their mark upon him. From loss of territory and other exactions on the part of the Sikhs, his revenues, originally thirty-five lakhs, had become much impaired, and he complained of being unable to maintain his royal state as was his wont in former days. He had also much to say about his treatment at the hands of Ranjit-Singh, which is hardly in keeping with the statements of Indian writers of the time.

During his visit Mr. Moorcroft had an interesting experience, of which he gives an impressive account. Sansar-Chand's younger brother, Fateh-Chand, was taken seriously ill and all hope was despaired of. Every one was in distress, and preparations had begun for the funeral, even the *ranis* being ready to become *sati*, when Mr. Moorcroft by his medical skill was able to avert a great calamity, and bring back the patient almost from the jaws of death. Great was the gratitude shown, and nothing seemed to be too much to do, in token of their joy and satisfaction at the remarkable recovery.

As the whole narrative is so interesting we give it in full:¹—"In the evening I waited upon the Raja at his desire, and found him with his son and grandson in an open building in a garden. Raja Sansar-Chand is a tall well-formed man, about sixty. His complexion is dark but his features are fine and expressive. His son, Rai Anirudha-Singh, has a very handsome face and ruddy complexion, but is remarkably corpulent. He has two sons, one of twelve and the other of five years of age, both less fair than himself. Sansar-Chand was formerly the most powerful Raja from the Satlej to the Indus. All the potentates, from the former river to Kashmir, were his tributaries or dependants, and he was extremely wealthy, possessing a revenue of thirty-five lacs of rupees. He is now poor, and in danger of being wholly subjected to Ranjit-Singh. His misfortunes are mainly owing to himself, and his decline presents a remarkable contrast to the rise of his neighbour and now paramount lord,.....Ranjit sends for Sansar-Chand to his court once a year, and the latter expects on one of these occasions to be detained a prisoner, but the Sikh's purposes do not seem yet to be matured, and, satisfied that his prey is within his grasp, he forbears awhile to pounce upon it."

"The loss of territory, and falling off of his dependencies have so much reduced the revenues of Katoch, that, as the Raja assured me, he has but 70,000 rupees a year for the expenses of himself and his family, after paying his troops. His resources are, however, still respectable, his country is strong, his peasantry resolute and warmly attached to him, and he has a large property in jewels which might be turned to better account. His pride, however, prevents him from

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 126 *et seq.*

making the sacrifices necessary to the improvement of his means, and whilst he spends large sums upon a numerous zenana, and a parcel of hungry retainers, he allows the defences of the country to fall into ruin, and keeps his soldiers short of powder and ball. He is very anxious to be taken under the protection of the British Government, and in the event of a rupture with the Sikhs it would find in him a zealous and useful partizan."

"Whilst I waited at Shujanpur a reply to my letter (from Ranjit-Singh), the Raja and his son and brother treated me with the greatest attention, inviting me to spend part of every day with them, and sending me presents of sweetmeats and fruit, when an occurrence took place which confirmed their regard, and established between us a close and curious connexion." Mr. Moorcroft then enters into a detailed account of the illness of Fateh-Chand, the Raja's brother, and of the means used to promote his restoration to health, which is too long for quotation. The closing paragraph is as follows:—"Nothing could exceed the expression, and I believe the sentiment of gratitude, on the part of the Raja and his son. Besides a valuable dress of honour, the former conferred on me a grant of land, desiring me to appoint some one to manage it on my behalf. The whole country seemed to rejoice in Fateh-Chand's recovery, for his courage and frankness made him a general favourite. He himself, when sufficiently restored, insisted on exchanging his turban for my hat, and making me his brother by adoption. He placed his turban on my head and my hat on his; each waved his hand, holding a handful of rupees, round the other's head, and the rupees were distributed amongst the servants. He also gave me some green *dub* grass, which I was desired to wear, and thus, notwithstanding the difference of caste and complexion, I became an honorary member of the family of Sansar-Chand. Whatever might be the value of such an association, it was a most unequivocal testimony of the sincerity of their gratitude....."

"Since the loss of Kangra, the Raja has resided principally at Shujanpur, or rather Alampur, on the right bank of the Bias, in gardens in which some small buildings accommodate himself and his court, and a larger one is erected for the zenana. His earlier residence and that of his predecessor was at Tira, where an extensive pile of buildings stands upon an eminence on the left bank of the river. The apartments are more spacious and commodious than is usual in Indian

palaces, but they are now made no use of, except for the Raja's personal armoury, in which are some splendid swords, and for a small manufactory of carpets for his own use."

"Sansar-Chand quitted this residence, it is said, in consequence of its being distant from water, but another reason is assigned by popular rumour. On one of the Raja's visits to Lahore, Ranjit-Singh remarked that he had heard much of the beauty of the palace at Tira, and should like to see it. Sansar-Chand replied that he should have felt honoured by the visit, but that he had quitted Tira, and the place had fallen into so much decay, that it was unfit to receive the Sikh Chief, as he might satisfy himself by sending a person to inspect it. Ranjit accordingly dispatched an envoy for this purpose, but a messenger, sent off immediately by Sansar-Chand, with orders to travel day and night, anticipated the Sikh envoy, in sufficient time to give Tira a dismantled and desolate appearance. The report made by the Sikh deterred Ranjit from his proposed visit, but the circumstance excluded Sansar-Chand from his patrimonial mansion."¹

"Raja Sansar-Chand spends the early part of the day in the ceremonies of his religion, and from ten till noon in communication with his officers and courtiers. For several days prior to my departure, he passed this period at a small *bangala*, which he had given up for my accommodation, on the outside of the garden. At noon the Raja retires for two or three hours, after which he ordinarily plays at chess for sometime, and the evening is devoted to singing and *naching*, in which the performers recite most commonly Brijbhakha songs relating to Krishna. Sansar-Chand is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures, but the greater part represent the feats of Krishna and Balaram, the adventures of Arjuna, and subjects from the *Mahabharat*: it also includes portraits of many of the neighbouring Rajas, and of their predecessors. Amongst these latter were two portraits of Alexander the Great, of which Rai Anirudha gave me one. It represents him with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulders; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls, but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not

¹ A third reason is current locally. It is said that a Brahman to whom Sansar-Chand owed a sum of money, and refused to pay, committed suicide in his presence at Tira, and his food all turned to worms and blood. A similar story is told of Raja Jagesingh of Kulu.

tell me whence the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by inheritance."

In addition to many other tokens of gratitude, a grant of land was also conferred on Mr. Moorcroft, but, as we know, he never returned to benefit by Sansar-Chand's kindness.

Mr. Moorcroft gives a very clear idea of the extent of the territory in the reign of Sansar-Chand. He says:¹—"The Raj of Katoch or Kangra, which is subject to Raja Sansar-Chand, is about forty short *kos* in length from north to south, and varies in breadth from east to west from fifteen to forty *kos*. The greatest length is from Pathihar Mahal, on the north-west, near the frontier of Chamba, to Bilaspur on the south-east; the greatest breadth is from Baidyanath Maharaj, or Iswar Linga, a shrine of Shiva, and place of religious resort on the north-east,—adjacent to Kulu and Mandi,—to Tulhati Mahal, to the south, on the borders of Jaswal. It is surrounded by Mandi and Suket on the east; by Kahalur and the Vale of Jaswa on the south; by part of Jaswa, Siba and Gula, on the west, and Kulu and Chamba on the north. It is separated from the Bist (or Byas and Setlej) Doab of Jalandhar by the States of Jaswa, Siba and Gula, and from the great snowy range of the Himalaya by those of Mandi, Suket, Chamba and Kulu. It is, however, close to the mountains, and is of considerable elevation. In some parts of it there is ice on the ground in July."

"The Raj is divided into three provinces, Katoch, Changa and Palam. The latter is the more western and northern, bordering on Chamba. Three considerable rivers flow from the neighbouring mountains, the Banganga, Kurali and Nayagul, which unite in Haripur and, under the name of Trigadh, fall into the Byas at Siba fort. The Byas itself waters the eastern portion of the Raj, flowing through Shujanpur-Tira and Nadaun."

Moorcroft speaks of an Irishman named O'Brien in Sansar-Chand's service, whom he met at Tira. O'Brien had been in the army of the E. I. Company in the Royal Irish Regiment. Having come on guard without some of his accoutrements, he was reprimanded and answered in an insolent manner. On being touched or struck with a cane, he knocked the officer down with the butt end of his carbine and galloped off. Not daring to return to his regiment, he ultimately found service

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 139-140. A similar story is associated with the old palace at Amber, the original capital of Jaipur in Rajputana.

with Sansar-Chand, with whom he remained till his death. Col. O'Brien, as he is called at Sujanpur-Tira, is still remembered, and a grave in a little grove of trees just to the west of the town is shown as his. His portrait occurs in two pictures of Sansar-Chand's court. He established a manufactory of small arms, and disciplined an infantry corps of 1,400 men. He also devised a quaint uniform like that of the E. I. Company's sepoy—for the Raja's troops—some of whom appear in one picture.¹ In Lahore Museum there are interesting portraits of Moorcroft (done during his visit to Sujanpur), also of Sansar-Chand and Fateh-Chand. Among Sansar-Chand's pictures in the possession of Maharaja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E. of Lambagraon, there is a portrait of Ghulam Muhammad of Rampur.

Sansar-Chand died in December 1823, after a reign of 47 years. He was in many respects a remarkable man, and has left a record in these hills second to none as a ruling Chief. Like Jagat-Singh of Nurpur, whom he closely resembled in character, Sansar-Chand stands out among the royal personalities of the past, both as a soldier and an administrator, and his name is still a household word far beyond the boundaries of Kangra. Under him the ancient kingdom of the Katoches reached the zenith of its power and glory, and had he been content with what he had acquired, he might have passed on his extensive dominions unimpaired to his posterity. For twenty years he was lord paramount of the hills, and even a formidable rival to Ranjit-Singh himself. But his aggressive nature led him on in his bold designs, and he fell at last a victim to his own overweening ambition. With him the glory of the Katoches passed away, and what remained to his son was little more than a name.

Anirudh-Chand, A.D. 1823.—On Sansar-Chand's death his son, Anirudh-Chand, was installed as Raja, and, we are told, some of the Sikh Sardars of high rank came to offer their condolence and congratulations, bearing certain presents from the Sikh court. These consisted of a horse and bow, shawls and a gold *yarah*, with a pearl necklace (*kantha*) and a *wajah* or turban. After six months, Anirudh-Chand was summoned to the Sikh court, then at Adinanagar, which was a favourite resort of the Maharaja. He presented a *nazarana*, or fee of investiture, of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees, and received a suitable *khilat* in return. This visit

¹ Another European named James was also in Sansar-Chand's service,—Vide *European Adventurers in Northern India*, page 59-ff.

was repeated in the following year, but on the third occasion, (in 1827), Anirudh-Chand was met by a very unacceptable demand.¹ Sansar-Chand had left two daughters by his *rani*, and Raja Dhian-Singh of Jammu, the Prime Minister, asked, through the Maharaja, one of the daughters in marriage for his son, Hira-Singh. For prudential reasons Anirudh-Chand expressed his willingness and gave a written engagement, but in reality he regarded the proposed alliance as an insult to the family honour. By immemorial custom among the Rajput royal families of the hills, a Raja's daughter may not marry any one of lower rank than her father, that is, a ruling Chief or an heir-apparent. Anirudh-Chand was a Raja in his own right and the descendant of a long line of kings, while Dhian-Singh was a Raja only by favour of his master. Dhian-Singh too was of royal descent and, next to the Maharaja, the most powerful man in the Sikh Kingdom, but all this counted as nothing in the eyes of the proud Katoch, when weighed against the family honour.

Time passed and Dhian-Singh, through the Maharaja, sent messages to hasten the marriage alliance. Anirudh-Chand used the pretext that his mother had recently died and he would give his sister a year later, but he secretly sent away his property across the Satluj preparatory to flight. When the year was past, the Maharaja, at the instigation of his Minister, started for Nadaun to hasten on the marriage, if necessary by force. On hearing of this the Raja sent his family across the Satluj, and when the Maharaja reached Adinanagar, he himself fled into British territory.

Ranjit-Singh came to Nadaun and Fateh-Chand, younger brother of Sansar-Chand, who did not leave the country with his nephew, waited on him and offered his own grand-daughter in marriage to Raja Hira-Singh. In reward he received the district of Rajgir in *jagir*, and was made a Raja. He is also said to have received the rest of the State on lease on favourable terms, but he died on his way home. Ludar-Chand, his son, succeeded to the *jagir* and lease; but failed to pay the amount agreed upon and was ejected from the leased lands, which were made over to Zamindars, under the control of a Sikh officer. The first of these was Lehna-Singh Sindhanwala, for one year, followed by Kunwar Sher-Singh for two years, both of whom resided at Tira-Sujanpur. Sher-Singh

¹ Cf. *History of the Punjab* by Muhammad Latif, pages 440-41; also Honigberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, pages 47 and 100, and Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, pages 86-7-8.

(afterwards Maharaja) was very kind to Ludar-Chand, and conferred on him a village and an orchard in his own *jagir* at Batala. Afterwards, Palam became the *jagir* of Prince Nau Nihal-Singh, and the rest of the State was placed under Lehna-Singh, Majithia, who became Nazim or Governor of the hills on his father's death.¹ Nadaun was granted in *jagir* to Jodhbhir-Chand, a younger son of Sansar-Chand, with the title of Raja, and is still held by the family. The present head is Raja Narendar-Chand, C.S.I., who resides at Amtar near Nadaun.

Soon after arriving in British territory, Anirudh-Chand married his two sisters to the Raja of Terhi-Garhwal, and died four years later, leaving two sons, Ranbir-Chand and Parmudh-Chand. In 1833, at the request of the British Government, conveyed through Colonel Wade at Ludhiana, Ranjit-Singh recalled them, and granted a *jagir* of Rs. 50,000 value in Mahal-Morian, where they took up their residence.

In 1835 Mr. Vigne met the two brothers. He says :²—
 “ At a place called Kruhin, situated in the midst of low and treeless hills, covered with rank herbage, I found the residence of the *ex-Rajah* of Tira and his brother, the grandsons of the once powerful Sinsar-Chand. After his death his son, Murut-Chand, went to Lahore, where Ranjit demanded his sister in marriage for his favourite and Minister, Dhian-Singh. Murut-Chand requested permission to go back and talk over the matter with his mother, who, it is said, was not averse to the match ; but he himself being a Rajput of high caste, refused to give his sister to an upstart of no family, and sent her and his mother and family across the Sutlej for security, under the pretence that they were going on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at Hardwar ; and the Fakir Aziz-u-Dyn, who had been sent to Tira by Ranjit, arrived there only to find that the bird had flown. Upon hearing the story, Ranjit came himself to Jwala-Mukhi, afterwards noticed, where Murut-Chand, at an interview, was asked three times if he would give his sister to Dhian Singh. He replied that he would, and was allowed to depart. He proceeded to Tira, and immediately despatched all his valuables towards the Sutlej ; upon which Ranjit sent a force to make him prisoner, but he escaped, and by the next day was safe in the Company's territories, where he joined his family at Hardwar and soon afterwards died there. His sons were

¹ *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar.

² Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 107-108-09.

invited back to the Punjab and were living upon a *jagir* (a grant of land) at Kruhin, where I saw them."

"The residence consisted of two or three low thatched houses, and they were in the receipt of 30,000 rupees (£3,000) a year, which was collected from the surrounding country by permission of the Maharajah. The elder of the two brothers, and the rightful Rajah of Tira, was very civil, and gave a breakfast on the morning of my departure."

"The young *ex*-Rajah showed me a friendly letter, which his grandfather had received from Lord Lake by the hands of an envoy, whom he had despatched to wait on his lordship, after he had followed Holkar into the Punjab; and also a *chit* or writing by Mr. Moorcroft, given to and in favour of Rajah Sansar-Chand, in which that open-hearted, intelligent, but unfortunate traveller, had spoken in the warmest terms of the kindness and attention he had received from him." Raja Ranbir-Chand, above-mentioned, died childless in 1847.

On the termination of the first Sikh War the hill tracts between the Satluj and Bias were, under the treaty of 9th March, 1846, ceded to the British Government, and Kangra thus came directly under British control. But the transfer was not carried out without difficulty. Relying on its ancient prestige, the Sikh Commandant of the fort refused to yield up his trust and Kotla Fort also held out for a time. When all means of persuasion had failed, a British force with a battery of artillery was sent up from Ludhiana by way of the Gaj Nala to compel the surrender, and at the end of two months the Commandant of Kangra agreed to evacuate the fort, on condition of a free and honourable retirement for himself and the garrison. After the surrender of the fort a native infantry regiment was sent to garrison it, and this arrangement continued till sometime before the earthquake of 4th April 1905, when the stronghold was almost demolished. A detachment of eighty men was also posted at Kotla under a European officer.

The dispossessed Chiefs also did not yield a willing allegiance to their new rulers.¹ The transfer of the hill tracts to Government was a consummation to which they had long been looking forward, in the eager hope and expectation that they would all be restored to their dominions. In this hope

they were encouraged by the generous treatment accorded to the Chiefs of the Simla Hill States on the conclusion of the Nepalese War; when in accordance with the agreement made at the beginning of the war they were all reinstated in their possessions. Great then was their disappointment when the Chiefs found that the Government meant to retain the country in their own hands. They all became disaffected in consequence, and when in 1848 they were approached by emissaries from the Sikh Sardars in rebellion, some of them lent a willing ear to illusive promises, that in the event of the British being defeated, they would be reinstated. First, the Wazir of Nurpur, and then Parmudh-Chand, son of Anirudh-Chand, along with the Rajas of Jaswan and Datarpur, broke out into revolt. A force was sent against them under Mr. Lawrence, the Commissioner, afterwards Lord Lawrence, which swept through the country and soon overcame all opposition. On his surrender, Parmudh-Chand, along with the Rajas of Jaswan and Datarpur, was sent to Almora, and detained as a political prisoner. There he died in 1851, childless and in exile.

Fateh-Chand, younger brother of Sansar-Chand, had died soon after the annexation of the State, and Ludar-Chand, his son, succeeded to the *jagir* granted by Ranjit-Singh, originally larger but reduced to Rs. 35,000 in 1833, on the return of Anirudh-Chand's sons from British territory. Ludar-Chand was followed by Partap-Chand, who succeeded to the family title in 1851, on the demise of Raja Parmudh-Chand without issue. He died in 1864, and since then his son Colonel Maharaja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., has been the head of the Katoch clan. He resides at Lambagraon, near Sujanpur, on the right bank of the Bias. At the time of his succession he was a minor, and the estate was managed by the Deputy Commissioner of Kangra as the Court of Wards. The estate was then heavily encumbered, but on the Raja's coming of age in 1883, it was handed over to him free of encumbrance. Maharaja Sir Jai Chand was educated partly at the Mayo College, Ajmer, and partly by private tutors. He holds the honorary rank of Colonel in the 87th Dogras, and served with distinction in the Black Mountain and Chitral Relief expeditions. He is also an Honorary Magistrate invested with criminal and civil powers, and is Sub-Registrar of his *jagir*. Maharaja Sir Jai-Chand is the second Viceregal Darbari in the Kangra District. In 1918 the distinction of Knight Companion in the Most Eminent

Order of the Indian Empire, with the title of Maharaja, was conferred upon him, in recognition of his devoted loyalty and his distinguished services to Government, especially during the Great War. He had previous to this received the distinction of C.S.I.

CHAPTER V.

Offshoots from Kangra State¹—Guler State.

In its palmy days Guler State extended from Ganesh-Ghati in the east to Reh in the west, and from the Bias in the south to Gangot and Jawali in the north. It had the same limits as the present Dehra tahsil, if Datarpur be added and *tappa* Gangot excluded. The peculiar circumstances in which it was founded have already been related in the history of Kangra State, and local tradition fully confirms the details of the story. The well into which Hari-Chand fell is still shown.

The original name of the State was Gwaliar of which Guler is a derivation, and it is several times referred to under this name in the Muhammadan histories. The name is derived from the word *Gopala* or *Gwala*, meaning "a cowherd," and the tradition is that a cowherd pointed out to Hari-Chand the site, where a tiger and a goat were seen drinking water together, as a suitable place for his capital. In keeping with the custom of the time, the cowherd was offered as a sacrifice, and his head buried in the foundation to ensure the stability of the fort. A similar tradition exists in connection with the foundation of Taragarh Fort in Chamba territory, by Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur, about A.D. 1625-30, when Tara, a Zamindar, is said to have been sacrificed in the same manner.

In addition to the Guler Fort at the capital, called Hari-pur Fort, there were six other forts along the frontiers of the State. These were Mastgarh, Kotla, Nehkianok, Gandharp, Ramgarh and Mangarh. Of these Kotla was the most important.

Gwaliar is referred to under that name in the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, and the *Akbarnamah*; there is also a chronicle of Guler State, called *Diliparanjani*, which was written during the reign of Dalip Singh, in Vik. 1762 (A.D. 1705). It is in old Hindi verse, and is the chief authority for the history of the State.

Raja Hari-Chand is said to have settled first at Harsar where he fell into the well, but soon afterwards moved to Guler or the place now bearing that name. He then founded

¹ These are : Guler, Jaswan, Siba and Datarpur.

the Fort of Haripur at the end of a ridge overhanging the Banganga river, one of the most striking and picturesque situations in the Kangra District. It was originally a fortified palace rather than a fortress, which the Sikhs at a later time fortified. The two outer gateways were demolished in 1847, and much destruction was caused by the earthquake of 1905, and it is now in a ruinous condition.

Hari-Chand also founded the town of Haripur on the flat below the fort, near the left bank of the Banganga, and an older town, called Purana Guler, stands on the right bank, where Hari-Chand perhaps resided while the fort was being built. Very little information is available about the early history of the State, after Hari-Chand. This may have been due to the fact that after the death of Firoz Shah Tughlaq (A.D. 1388), the Delhi Empire fell into great disorder, which lasted for more than a hundred years. During that time the Hill States probably enjoyed a period of tranquillity.

The Rajas after Hari-Chand were *Bhaun-Chand*; *Suvarn-Chand*; *Udhyan-Chand*, *Narindar-Chand*; *Udharn-Chand*; *Ratan-Chand*; *Nand-Chand*; *Garuda-Chand*; *Gambhir-Chand*; *Abhaya-Chand*; *Uttam-Chand*; *Prithvi-Chand*; *Karan-Chand* of whose reigns there are no records extant.

Ram-Chand, c. A.D. 1540.—*Ram-Chand* was the fifteenth Raja in direct succession after Hari-Chand, covering a period of about a hundred and twenty years, and giving a reign of only eight years to each. This is much below the general average in the Hill States. During this period there is only one reference to the State in contemporaneous history. This is in the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* where we read that Prince Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Tughlaq, eldest son of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, being compelled, in A.D. 1388, to flee from Delhi, was pursued as far as Suket and Gwalior on his way to Nagarkot. There his pursuers, being strongly opposed and despairing of his capture, returned to Delhi. It is possible, however, that the reference is to Kahlur (Bilaspur) and not to Guler.¹

The next reference is in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, in the reign of Islam Shah, son of Sher Shah, who is said to have subdued all the Zamindars (hill Chiefs) whose possessions were at the foot of the hills, that is, in the Savalaks, and they came in and promised to be faithful in their allegiance.

¹ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* : Elliot's History, Volume IV, page 19.

Among them was " Parsuram, the Raja of Gwalior, who became a staunch servant of the king, and was treated with a degree of consideration which far exceeded that shown to the other Zamindars."¹ Gwalior is there referred to as " a hill which is on the right hand towards the south amongst the hills, as you go to Kangra and Nagarkot."

Islam Shah stayed there for a time and erected some buildings, probably while he was engaged in building the fort of Maukot near Nurpur. The two places are not far apart. He seems to have been on very friendly relations with the Raja, and composed the following lines in jest about the inhabitants of Gwalior, whose appearance he did not admire :—

" How can I sing the praises of the beloved ones of Gwalior,
I could never do so properly if I tried in a thousand ways."

" I do not know how to salute Parsuram ; when I behold him
I am distracted and exclaim, Ram, Ram."

The name " Parsuram " was probably used in a jocular manner, as Ram-Chand was called Ram Raja.

In the Chamba chronicle there is a reference to a war between Partap-Singh Varma (c. A.D. 1559—86) and the Raja of Kangra, whose name was Chandar-Pal, and it is stated that Guler was occupied by the Chamba army. This may have occurred towards the end of Ram-Chand's reign. There is no reference to this war in the Guler chronicle, but this is not surprising as nothing would be mentioned which detracted from the honour of the State.

Jagdish-Chand, c. A.D. 1570.²—The Raja of Guler referred to as Parsuram was doubtless the Ram-Chand of the *Vansavali*, who is again mentioned at a later date, in connection with the expedition despatched by Akbar in A.D. 1572, to suppress a revolt in the hills. The force advanced towards Kangra by Nurpur and Kotla. The latter place, it is stated, had previously belonged to Ram-Chand of Guler, probably having been a part of the State from Hari-Chand's time, but had been seized by Dharm-Chand and his son, Jai-Chand, of Kangra. It was besieged and reduced by the Mughals and the fort was then, it is stated, restored to the Guleria Raja, probably Jagdish-Chand, son of Ram-Chand. The ruler of Kangra at the time was Bidhi-Chand, whose father, Jai-Chand,

¹ *Tarikh-i-Daudi*. Elliot, Volume IV, pages 493-94.

² *Talagat-i-Aktari*. Elliot, Volume V, page 367.

Kotla Fort is situated at the end of a high ridge, overhanging a steep precipice, and with deep ravines on both sides and in front. It is now in a ruinous condition.

referred to above, was arrested by Ram-Chand of Guler, made over to the Mughals and imprisoned in Delhi. It would appear that the Raja of Guler had not joined in the revolt, hence this generosity on the part of the Mughal Commander.

At a later date in Akbar's reign (A.D. 1588-89) another revolt broke out in the hills, and a force was sent to quell it. On tendering their submission many of the Chiefs accompanied Zain Khan Koka, the Mughal Commander, to court, to renew their allegiance and present their offerings, but we do not find any mention of the Guler Chief among them.

Still another revolt occurred in A.D. 1594-95, in which most of the hill Chiefs, between Jammu and the Satluj, were implicated. We are told that the Mughal army, after crossing the Ravi, advanced to Paithan (Pathankot) and Mau (Maukot) and then to Gwalial, "a strong fort belonging to a different Raja, who came out to meet the army and show his loyalty." From all this it is evident that the Raja of Guler remained faithful on all three occasions.

Vijaya-Chand, c. A.D. 1605.—Jagdish-Chand was succeeded by his son, Vijaya Chand, who reigned only five years, and his sons only for a few days, when Rup-Chand, a younger brother of Vijaya-Chand, came to the throne.

Rup-Chand, c. A.D. 1610.—Rup-Chand was the most notable of the Guleria Chiefs. He must have succeeded about A.D. 1610, and remained loyal throughout his reign. He took an active part in the final siege of Kangra Fort in the reign of Jahangir, which surrendered to the Imperial army on Thursday, 1st Muharram, A.H. 1029 (16th November 1620 A.D.). In the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* the following occurs:— "As Raja Rup-Chand of Gwalial had been very active in his service at Kangra, an order was given to the chief diwans to hand over half of his native place to him in free gift, and the remaining half as a *tankhwah* (salary) *jagir*."¹ The date of this order was Thursday, 26th Azar, A.H. 1030, corresponding to 7th December 1621 A.D., and shortly afterwards he was honoured with the gift of an elephant and a horse and was granted leave to go to his State.

Again in A.D. 1623-24, Rup-Chand of Gwalial is mentioned among the Amirs who had been appointed to suppress a disturbance raised by Raja Jagat-Singh of Nurpur, at

¹*Tankawah* salary, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans, Volume II, pages 187, 191, 289,

the instigation of Prince Khurram (Shahjahan), who was then on bad terms with his father.

In the Guler chronicle, already referred to, the bard states that Rup-Chand overran the hill districts twenty-two, that is, many times, in the service of the Emperor Jahangir, and received the title of Bahadur and a *khilat* and two weapons, still preserved in the family. He was also sent on a military expedition to the Dakhan where he distinguished himself. On his return he was honoured with *khilats* and permitted to retire to his State.

Finally in the same record an account is given of an expedition against Garhwal State, in which Rup Chand bore an honourable part and lost his life.

In A.D. 1634, Shahjahan sent an army to invade the Garhwal State, which met with strong resistance. Supplies ran short and the camp was in confusion, owing to the only way of retreat being closed by the Garhwalis.

Najabat Khan commanded the force, and Prithvi Shah, the Raja of Garhwal, allowed it to penetrate far into the hills, retiring before the advance. He then closed all the routes and thus cut off supplies, and the army had to exist on the flesh of horses and elephants, leaving no alternative but to retreat. As the bard says:—

“ Najabat Khan remembered the Prophet, and turned his back and retreated.”

This is confirmed by Manucci in the *Storia do Mogor*, who states that when the Mughals had advanced some distance into the hills, the Raja of Garhwal surrounded them and cut off their retreat. Najabat Khan then sent proposals of peace, but was told that they had come too late. He then asked permission to retire, and this was granted, on condition that each of the soldiers should throw down his arms and leave his nose behind him; and to this they had to agree to save their lives. Shahjahan is said to have issued orders that the Raja of Garhwal was to be called *Naktirani*, i.e., cut nose.

The Ma'asir-ul-Umara states that Najabat Khan with the remnants of his army escaped to Sambhal, sustaining life on the leaves of trees. Rup-Chand stood firm, though deprived of all support, and advanced towards Srinagar, the capital of the State; but was killed in battle after

having fought bravely and overcome many of his foes. As the bard has it—

“ For the cause of Shahjahan Rup-Chand, the jewel of a king,
fought and sacrificed his life in Garhwal.”

Elphinstone,¹ the historian, also refers to this expedition, and states that the Mughal force was almost completely destroyed. From other sources we learn that Najabat Khan was a brave and experienced soldier, who afterwards distinguished himself at the siege of Maukot in 1641-42 against Jagat Singh of Nurpur, and later in the war with Dara Shikoh.

Man Singh, A.D. 1635.—Rup-Chand was succeeded by his son, Man-Singh, and from his time the suffix of the family was changed to Singh; it is said by order of Shahjahan, who admired Man-Chand for his valour and called him “ Sher Afghan.”

As the bard relates :—

“ The Emperor conferred on him the title of Sinha (Lion) and gave him a horse of great value.”

Man-Singh, like his ancestors, was faithful to the Mughals and rendered valiant service. He was attached to the army sent by Shahjahan to the frontier, but on the way some misunderstanding arose and a complaint was sent to the Emperor that he was delaying the advance.

An order was received to send him back to court under arrest, but the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur intervened and the matter was hushed up.

Man-Singh seems to have been employed on the frontier for some years, but in A.D. 1641-42 he was recalled and placed under the command of Prince Murad Bakhsh, in the army sent to suppress the revolt of Raja Jagat-Singh of Nurpur. This duty was entirely to his liking, as a deadly feud existed between him and Jagat-Singh, probably handed down from Rup-Chand's time. In the records Man-Singh is called “ the mortal enemy of Jagat-Singh.” He probably had also personal wrongs to avenge, for the Rajas of Guler and Suket are said to have been imprisoned in Delhi, in consequence of false charges preferred against them by Jagat-Singh.

Man-Singh receives honourable mention by the Muhammadan historians in the accounts of the sieges of Maukot and Taragarh, in A.D. 1641-42. After Jagat-Singh's surrender,

¹ Elphinstone, *History*, 1857, page 570, also in *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*.

Man-Singh was ordered to present himself at court, but, it is said, declined to do so unless appointed Faujdar of the Hill States. He is also said to have conquered Mandi, Suket, Bashahr and Kulu, and was attached to the army under Aurangzeb, in A.D. 1647, for the siege of Kandahar.

The poet's reference to Bashahr and Kulu is improbable, but it is certainly true as regards Mandi and also Suket. He also had conflicts with Nurpur and Kangra, in which he managed to hold his own. The Fort of Mangarh was built by him. At last he abdicated in favour of his son and retired to Benares where he died in A.D. 1661.

Bikram-Singh, A.D. 1661.—Bikram-Singh also was employed on the North-West Frontier against the Yusufzai Pathan tribes.

He once defeated a Mughal officer stationed at Nadaun to collect the revenue, and was taken to Hasan Abdal, probably under arrest. From there he was sent to Peshawar to do service against the Pathans, and was mortally wounded and died at a place called Chauntra, on his way back. It is said that Aurangzeb conferred on him the *mansab* of 2,500, with valuable *khilats*, and made him Thanadar of the Kangra hills. He was famed for his physical strength, and could break a cocoanut in pieces with his fingers.

Raj-Singh, c. A. D. 1675.—Bikram-Singh was followed by his son, Raj-Singh, probably about A.D. 1675. At that time the Viceroy of Lahore was Khwaja Riza Beg, who used to make inroads into the hill country. Chatar-Singh of Chamba, Raj-Singh of Guler, Dhiraj-Pal of Basohli, and Kirpal-Dev of Jammu combined against him and recovered the territories lost. Raj-Singh is also said to have saved Mandi and Kahlur from similar oppression by Mughal officers, and defeated the Mughal forces under Husain Khan,¹ Alaf Khan and Mian Khan, probably officers in Kangra Fort.

Dalip-Singh, A.D. 1695.—Raj-Singh died in 1695, leaving a son, Dalip Singh, born in A.D. 1688, and therefore only about seven years old; Udai-Singh of Chamba had been appointed his guardian and was appealed to for help when the Rajas of Jammu and Basohli, taking advantage of a minority, invaded Guler. Udai-Singh with the help of Siba, Kahlur and Mandi drove out the invaders and restored the infant Raja to his rights.

¹ Hussain Khan was Kiladar of Kangra Fort.

Another invasion by Husain Khan, the Kiladar of Kangra Fort, assisted by some of the Katoches, was repulsed by the State subjects. Dalip-Singh died about A.D. 1730.

Govardhan-Singh, c. A.D. 1730.—Govardhan-Singh who succeeded had a quarrel with Adina Beg Khan, Governor of the Jalandhar Doab, about a horse which the Raja refused to give up. A fight ensued in which the Guleria Chief was victorious. He probably had a long reign, but no records have come down to us.

Prakash-Singh, c. A.D. 1760.—Prakash-Singh succeeded about 1760. The Mughal Empire had then ceased to exercise any authority in the Panjab, and the hill Chiefs recovered their lost territory and regained their independence, but did not retain it for long.

Guler probably came under the control of Ghamand-Chand of Kangra from about 1758, and under the Sikhs at a later date, till 1786, when Raja Sansar-Chand acquired supreme power in the hills. But amid all these changes the Guler State continued to preserve its integrity, except the *ilaga* of Kotla, which originally belonged to the State.

Kotla *ilaga* seems to have been a part of the Imperial demesne formed by Todar-Mal in the reign of Akbar, and the fort was garrisoned with Mughal troops, probably from the same time as Kangra Fort. It is not known when the garrison was evacuated, but in 1785 it was captured by Dhian-Singh, Wazir of Guler, who made himself independent and successfully resisted even Sansar-Chand, in the height of his power.¹

Bhup-Singh, c. A.D. 1790.—Bhup-Singh who came to the *gaddi* about 1790 was the last ruling Chief of Guler. All the Kangra States were then under the supremacy of Sansar-Chand, and his oppressive measures aroused a spirit of resistance among them. They formed a confederacy against him, and through the Raja of Bilaspur invited the Gurkhas to invade Kangra. Bhup-Singh was one of the first to join them with his contingent.

On the expulsion of the Gurkhas and the surrender of Kangra Fort to Ranjit-Singh in 1809, all the States of the Kangra group came under his control. For a time he treated Bhup-Singh with respect and called him Baba, but the extinction of the principality was close at hand. In 1811 Ranjit-Singh

¹ Dhian-Singh was probably a member of the Guleria ruling family.

began to disclose his designs on the Hill States, and Guler was the first to be annexed. In that year Desa-Singh Majithia was sent against Kotla Fort and captured it in a week, a *jagir* being assigned to Wazir Dhian-Singh in the Doab. In 1813 the rest of Guler State was also seized. Mr. Barnes gives the following account of the way in which this was done :— "The plan was skilfully and deliberately laid. The Raja was directed to raise a large force to assist in some operations on the Indus, and when the military strength of the population was drained off and the country lay defenceless, the Raja was summoned to Lahore. On the day that he expected leave to return, he was shamelessly arrested, and told that he would not be allowed to go till he surrendered his kingdom and accepted a *jagir*. Without waiting for a reply, Desa-Singh was sent off with an army of ten thousand Sikhs, and the territory was quietly annexed to the growing rule of the Khalsa. The Raja was restored to liberty, but spurned the offer of a *jagir*. He had, however, assigned 20,000 rupees during his own incumbency for the support of his female household ; and Ranjit-Singh left that maintenance untouched." These lands still form the *jagir* of the family.

Bhup-Singh died in 1820 and was succeeded by his son, *Shamsher-Singh*.

In the first Sikh War he raised a force from among his retainers and turned the Sikhs out of Haripur Fort. *Shamsher-Singh* remained loyal during the rising of 1848 and refused to countenance the proceedings of his kinsmen. He died in 1877, and as he left no son he was followed by his brother, *Raja Jai-Singh*, who died in 1884, and was succeeded by *Raja Raghunath-Singh*, who died on 9th March 1920.

The present head of the family is *Raja Baldeo-Singh* who resides at Nandpur within his *jagir*. The Haripur Fort is also in his possession, having been made over by Government to *Raja Shamsher-Singh*. The title of *Raja* was conferred on *Raja Jai-Singh*, the head of the family, as a hereditary distinction, in 1878.

Raja Baldeo-Singh is first Viceregal Darbari in the Kangra District, and exercises criminal and civil powers within his *jagir*.

Jaswan State.

Jaswan State occupied a fertile tract in the Jaswan Dun ||
of the outer hills, now in Hoshiarpur District. It was founded
 by a cadet of the Katoch line about A.D. 1170, whose name is
 said to have been *Purab-Chand*.

Till then the Kangra State had remained one and undivided, and Jaswan was thus the first off-shoot from the parent stem. It is not improbable, however, that the State was originally a fief, which became independent in the unsettled times following on the Muhammadan invasions. "Many centuries ago," writes Mr. Barnes, "so long ago that all consanguinity has ceased, and intermarriages take place among a people to whom marriage with blood relations is a heinous crime—a member of the Katoch family severed himself from Kangra and set up an independent State in Jaswan."

The capital of the State was at Rajpura and the clan name is Jaswal. There were 27 Rajas in all from Purab-Chand to Umed-Singh.

The Rajas after Purab-Chand were:—*Parab-Chand, Biswa-Chand, Gopal-Chand, Sirbahk-Chand, Dhula-Chand, Sulachan-Chand, Auk-Chand, Udhan-Chand, Nirpat-Chand, Udhar-Chand, Bhikk-Chand, Sirkar-Chand, Mubarak-Chand, Gobind-Chand, Bikram-Chand, Anirudh-Chand*: that is, 17 Rajas in about 400 years, giving an average reign of 23 years to each.

Little is known about the subsequent history of the State for many centuries, but it is several times mentioned in the histories of the Mughal period.

Like the other Hill States it was subject to the Mughals from the time of Akbar. In A.D. 1572, when Raja Jai-Chand of Kangra was arrested and sent to Delhi, he, before leaving, put his son, Bidhi-Chand, then a minor, in charge of *Raja Gobind-Chand* of Jaswan, who successfully defended the Kangra Fort against the Mughal army for some time, till the Mughal commander had to offer him favourable terms of surrender. Gobind-Chand "looked on the terms as a stroke of good fortune and was delighted." The Mughals then prepared to march away to oppose the Mirzas, who had invaded the Panjab, and the Raja offered his services and accompanied the army, for some distance, till permitted to return.¹

At a later time, in the 35th year of Akbar (A.D. 1588-89), *Anirudh-Chand* of Jaswan, grandson of Gobind-Chand, joined the rebellion led by Bidhi-Chand of Kangra, embracing almost all the Hill States between the Chenab and the Satluj. On their submission they were all pardoned and had their territories and honours restored.²

¹ *Akbarnamah*, Cawnpore edition Volume III, paragraph 6.

² *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, page 160. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans., Volume I, page 344.

Jaswan was also involved in the rebellion of A. D. 1594-95. The Mughal army again marched through the hills from Jammu to the Satluj, and, after receiving the submission of all the States that had been in revolt, we are told that "the affairs of the clan of the Jasuwals, who are zamindars with a (common) army, had to be settled. But when they heard of the approach of the royal army and of the reduction of the territories of the zamindars, all hope of successful resistance was beaten out of them, and they made humble submission."¹

After Anirudh-Chand the Rajas were *Samir-Chand*, *Man-Singh*, *Ajab-Singh*, *Ram-Singh*, *Ajit-Singh*, *Jaghar-Singh*, *Abhirai-Singh*, *Jagrup-Singh*, *Prit-Singh*, *Ummed-Singh*.

No further reference to the State occurs in the Muhamadan histories, and we may conclude that it remained loyal, and like other Hill States sent contingents to assist the Mughals when called upon to do so.

On the decline of the Mughal Empire Jaswan came under the control of the Sikhs, and in 1786 Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra acquired paramount power in the hills. So heavy was his hand even upon the offshoots of his own family that they all combined against him—Jaswan among them—when the Gurkhas invaded Kangra. At that time Ummed-Singh was in power.

With the acquisition of Kangra Fort, on the expulsion of the Gurkhas in 1809, the State became subject to Ranjit-Singh, and in 1815 it was annexed to the Sikh Kingdom. In the autumn of that year Maharaja Ranjit-Singh summoned all his forces, personal and tributary, to assemble at Sialkot, and every hill Chief was under obligation to attend with his contingent. The Rajas of Nurpur and Jaswan failed to obey the summons, and a fine was imposed on each, intentionally fixed beyond their resources.

Raja Ummed-Singh submitted quietly to his fate and resigned his State, accepting a *jagir* of Rs. 12,000 annual value, and this ancient principality thus came to an end after having lasted for probably 600 years.

In 1848, during the second Sikh War, Ummed-Singh joined in the revolt against British Authority, and he and his son Jai-Singh were deported to Almora where they both died.

¹ *Akbarnamah*, Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, pages 126-29.

Sometime later, at the request of Maharaja Gulab-Singh of Jammu, *Raja Ran-Singh*, son of Raja Jai-Singh, was permitted to return, in order that his son, Raghunath-Singh, might marry the Maharaja's granddaughter. He was given a *jagir* in Ramkot in Jammu which is still held by the family.

In 1877, at the request of Maharaja Ranbir-Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, Government restored to Raja Ran-Singh the *jagir* in Jaswan, originally held by Raja Ummed-Singh, consisting of 21 villages in the Jaswan Dun, and also the family garden at Amb, as well as the buildings at Rajpura, formerly the palace of Raja Ummed-Singh. He died in 1892, and was succeeded by his son, Raja Raghunath-Singh, who died in 1918.

Raja Lakhshman-Singh, the present head of the family, resides at Amb in Jaswan.

Siba State.

Siba State was an offshoot from Guler, as Guler was from Kangra. In the fourth generation after Raja Hari-Chand, a younger brother of the ruling Chief of Guler, named Sibarn-Chand, made himself independent in a tract to the south of the Bias, probably about A.D. 1450.

There he founded his capital and called it Siba after his own name, and in accordance with ancient custom the name was also applied to the State. *Taluga* Siba in the Kangra District, at the present time, represents the exact dimensions of the former State. The clan name is Sibaia.

There were 25 Rajas in succession after Sibarn-Chand :—*Humi-Chand*, *Pahlad-Chand*, *Jit-Chand*, *Udhan-Chand*, *Autar-Chand*, *Rup-Chand*, *Manak-Chand*, *Nirmodh-Chand*, *Jap-Chand*, *Kilas-Chand*, *Prag-Chand*, *Sansar-Chand*, *Narain-Chand*, *Tilok-Chand*, *Kishan-Chand*, *Jai-Chand*, *Prithi-Chand*, *Amar-Chand*, *Jaswant-Singh*, *Bhag-Singh*, *Lakel-Singh*, *Madho-Singh*, *Sher Singh*, *Gobind-Singh*, *Ram Singh*, giving an average reign of only nine years.

Very little is known of its subsequent history, but Siba is mentioned in Jahangir's Memoirs on the occasion of his visit to Kangra in January A.D. 1622. He was accompanied by Nurjahan Begam and her father, Itimad-ud-daula; and when the Imperial camp was at the village of Bahlun in Siba the Emperor set out with his personal retinue to visit Kangra Fort, leaving Nurjahan with her father who was seriously ill. On the way a messenger overtook him with a

message that grave symptoms had appeared, and Jahangir at once retraced his steps and was present at Itimad-ud-daula's death.¹ He then went on to Kangra, probably by Haripur, and returned by Nurpur. The State seems to have preserved its independence all through the Mughal period under its own Rajas, of whom there were 26 down to the time of its extinction. It was subject to the Sikhs like the other Hill States, and to Sansar-Chand of Kangra from 1786 till the Gurkha invasion in 1806, and the Raja of that time was Gobind-Singh. Availing himself of the disorder then prevailing, Raja Bhup-Singh of Guler, in 1808, invaded Siba and annexed it. It came under Ranjit-Singh along with Guler and the other Hill States in 1809, and ten years later he disjoined it from Guler, and in 1830 restored it to Raja Gobind-Singh. Amid the ruin that befell the other Hill States in Kangra, Siba alone escaped. It is said that Ranjit-Singh had doomed it to destruction, but it was saved owing to the fact that Raja Dhian-Singh, the Minister, had obtained two princesses of the Siba family in marriage, and through his intervention the danger was averted. A tribute of Rs. 1,500 was imposed, and the principal fort had to be surrendered, but the State was left intact, as a *jagir*.

The territory was then divided between the two cousins, Raja Gobind-Singh and Mian Devi-Singh; lands worth Rs. 20,000 (subject to tribute) being assigned to the former and of Rs. 5,000 (*taluka* Kotila) to the latter.

Raja Gobind-Singh died in 1845 and was succeeded by his son, Raja Ram-Singh. During the second Sikh War he drove the Sikhs out of Siba Fort, and also ousted his cousin, Bijai-Singh, son of Devi-Singh, from his *jagir*, but was obliged to restore it. Raja Ram-Singh died without heirs in 1874, and his *jagir* was re-granted to Bijai-Singh and his heirs-male in perpetuity, subject to an annual tribute of Rs. 1,500. He was followed by Raja Jai-Singh, who died in 1920; and after him his son, Raja Gajindar-Singh, who died in 1926. Raja Sham-Singh is the present head of the family. The State is generally spoken of as Dada-Siba from the two principal places within its bounds.

On 15th March 1919 the title of "Raja" was officially conferred on Jai-Singh, *Jagirdar* of Siba, as a hereditary distinction, by Government.

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Volume II, pages 221-22.

Datarpur State.

Datarpur State was an offshoot from Siba as Siba was from Guler. In the seventh generation from Sibarn-Chand, Siba was ruled by Manak-Chand who had three sons—Narmuda-Chand, Ram-Chand and Lakhudah-Chand. The third son had his residence in Dada, within the Siba State. To him in the third generation was born Datar-Chand, who founded the Datarpur State—a tract now in the Dasuya Tahsil of Hoshiarpur, about A.D. 1550.

This tract was originally in the possession of a local Chief, who called in Datar-Chand to help him against his enemies. Having overcome them he seized the territory and made himself its ruler. He gave his name to the new capital which he founded, and from it the State also received its name.

The clan name of the family is Dadwal from Dada, their original home.

After Datar-Chand, 10 Rajas ruled in succession :—*Ganesh-Chand, Chatar-Chand, Udai-Chand, Prithi-Chand, Jai-Chand, Dalel-Chand, Ugar-Chand, Nand-Chand, Gobind-Chand and Jagat-Chand.*

Nothing is known about the subsequent history of the State till it came under the control of Sansar-Chand of Kangra in 1786.¹ Gobind-Chand was in power in 1806 and joined the Gurkhas on their invasion of Kangra. In 1809 the State became subject to Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, by whom it was reduced to the status of a *jagir*.

Gobind-Chand died in 1818 and the Maharaja then decided to annex the territory. Accordingly Raja Jagat-Chand was held in durance till he consented to accept a *jagir*. This he continued to hold till 1848, when he rebelled along with the Katoch princes and was deported to Almora, where he died in 1877. His son, Mian Devi-Chand, born in 1838, was permitted to return to Kangra at the request of the Raja of Mandi, but the *jagir* was not restored. He died in 1883 leaving two sons, Surma-Chand, who resided in Jammu, and Raghbir-Chand in Mandi. A younger branch, descended from a third son, Udham-Singh, resides at Prithipur in the Hoshiarpur District, in the enjoyment of a pension of Rs. 600.

Mian Baldeo-Chand, the present head of the family, is a son of Raghbir-Chand and has a residence in Datarpur, but the old palace is no longer habitable.

¹ A reference to the State occurs in connection with the revolt of A.D. 1588-9 in which Raja Jagdis-Chand, Dahwal (Dadwal) took part.—*Ma'sir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, page 160.

CHAPTER VI.

Nurpur State.

The Nurpur State included originally Pathankot and a large tract on the plains; also the whole of the present Nurpur Tahsil of Kangra District, with the addition of Shahpur and Kandi, now in Gurdaspur, and also a small tract to the west of the Ravi, called Lakhampur, now in Jammu State.¹

The State was bounded on the north by Chamba, on the east by Kangra and Guler, on the south by the Panjab plains, and on the west by the Ravi. The original capital and nucleus was Pathankot, of which the name in Mughal times was Paithan, an abbreviation of Pratishthana, meaning, "the firmly established place." There has been some uncertainty as to the origin of the name. Sir A. Cunningham was at first inclined to regard it as "a genuine Hindu word derived from *pathan*, meaning 'roads' as if intended to describe the first meeting of the roads which there takes place." This derivation, however, he afterwards abandoned in favour of Pratishthana, of which the abbreviated name, Paithan, is found both in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Badshahnamah*. There is another Paithan on the Godavari, the later capital of the Andhras (B.C. 220 to A.D. 236),² of which the Sanskrit name is known from the plates of Govinda III to be Pratishthana, and we may assume that the same is true of Pathan-(or Paithan) kot.³ There was a third Pratishthana on the left bank of the Ganges, not far from its junction with the Jamna, which is repeatedly mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The word was evidently, therefore, a not uncommon place-name in ancient times, and in its abbreviated form it has no association with the Pathans of the North-West Frontier. Parallels for the addition of 'kot' (fort) we find in many other place-names, for example, Sialkot, Nagarkot, etc., the object probably being, as Sir A. Cunningham suggests, to indicate both the fort and the town.⁴

¹ *Kangra Gazetteer*, page 28.

² *Ancient India*, Rapson, page 174.

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume III, page 103.

⁴ *Archæological Survey Reports*, 1872-73, Volume V, pages 145-ff.

The clan name of the Nurpur Rajas is "Pathania," and that it is derived from the place-name, Pathan, cannot in our opinion be doubted. This is fully in accordance with the common practice of the Hill Rajas, who in almost every instance took their clan-name from the name of the country over which they exercised dominion. Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to institute an inquiry into the history of the State. He was, however, unable to find any authoritative records, as all of them were said to have been destroyed in the Muhammadan and Sikh wars. But he succeeded in obtaining a good deal of information from a very old Brahman, named Devi-Shah, who was acquainted with the history of the ruling house. Sir A. Cunningham visited Nurpur in 1846, just after the first Sikh War, and Devi-Shah was then 95 years of age. He furnished a genealogical roll of the Rajas, which, on the whole, agrees well with the names which can be gathered from the Muhammadan historians.¹

An Urdu compilation by Mian Raghunath-Singh, of the Reh branch of the ruling family, has also been of considerable assistance, but his genealogical roll varies a good deal, especially in the earlier portion, from that of Sir A. Cunningham.

Pathankot is probably one of the oldest sites in the Panjab, and it must always have been a place of great importance. Situated as it is at the foot of the hills, between the Ravi and the Bias, where they are only sixteen miles apart, its position is especially favourable as a mart for the interchange of merchandise between the hills and the plains. Of late years, since the opening of the branch railway from Amritsar, it has become the principal point of arrival and departure for all the trade of the western hills, between Kashmir and Kulu.

That it is a place of great antiquity is shown by the fact that numerous ancient coins have been found, some of them belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era. Sir A. Cunningham says :²—"Among the coins which I obtained at Pathankot were a Greek Zoilus with specimens of the Indo-Scythian kings ; Vonones, Kanishka, Huvishka and Gondophares, and one of the satraps of Surashtra. The Muhammadan coins ranged from Khusru the Ghaznvide down to Shahjahan, and the coins of the Kangra Rajas from Pithama-

¹ *Archæological Survey Report*, Volume XIV, 1878-79, pages 115-ff.

² *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, 1872-73, pages 163-ff.

Chandra down to Triloka. I was surprised to get only two specimens of the Hindu Rajas of Kashmir, which are so abundant in the north-western districts of the Panjab. But this scarcity only confirms what we know from history, that the rule of Kashmir, even at its most flourishing period, did not extend to the east of the Ravi. There was a single specimen of the Indo-Sassanian period, with the name in Nagari letters of Sri Vagamarisa, which recalls the name of Barkamaris, preserved by Rashid-ud-din in the *Mujmal-ut-Tawarikh*. But the most curious, and by far the most interesting coins discovered at Pathankot, were six early Hindu coins which certainly date as high as the beginning of the Christian era. As I have not found a single specimen of these coins elsewhere, I take them to be the ancient coinage of Pathankot itself. These coins are thin pieces of copper, either square or oblong, with a temple on one face and an elephant on the other. Beside the temple are the symbols of Swasti and Dharma, and underneath is a snake. Before the elephant there is a tree surrounded by a Buddhist railing, with an Aryan legend on two sides, of which one half reads distinctly, *Odumbara*. It is possible that the inscription may refer to the tree which it accompanies, an *Udumbara* or *Ficus Glomerata*; but I think it more probable that it must be the name of the town or district. We have several examples of such names being placed on coins, as Yaudheya, Sibi, Ujeniya and Malavana. We know also that Audumbara was actually used as the name of the province of Kachli, as early at least as the time of Pliny, who mentions the Odombeores. But as Udumbara is also a name of copper, it is quite possible that Audumbara may simply refer to the prevailing red colour of the hilly district of Nurpur. This suggestion receives some support from the fact, that the old Hindu name of Nurpur was Darmeri or Dharmeri, which is a not improbable abbreviation of Audumbara. The name was changed to Nurpur by Jahangir in honour of his wife, Nur Jahan."

"According to Panini, any country in which the *Udumbara* flourishes may be called Audumbara.¹ This is true of the Nurpur district in which the glomerous fig tree is common. But the name itself is also to be found in Hindu books, as that of a country in the north-eastern Punjab. Thus Varahamihira twice couples the Audumbaras with the Kapistholos, who are the Kambistholi of Arrian's *Indica*. In the *Markandeya Purana* they are joined with the Kapistholos,

¹*Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume XIV, 1878-9, pages 115-119.

and in the *Vishnu Purana* they are coupled with the Traigartas and Kulindas ;¹ the former being the people of Kangra and the latter of Kulu and the districts on the Sutlej. I think, therefore, that the old name is most probably preserved in the present Dhameri or Dhamahri, which I take to be only a corrupt survival of Audumbara."

"I can find no trace of the name in the historians of Alexander, but the quotations which I have given from Varahamihira and the Puranas show that the name was well known before the Muhammdan invasions. Its next mention is by Abu Rihan (Alberuni, A.D. 1017—1031), who calls it 'Dahmala the capital of Jalandhara,' from which I conclude that the district had been annexed by its more powerful neighbour of Traigarta or Kangra. From that time down to the reign of Akbar, I know of no mention of the district either as Audumbara or as Pathanya."

There is a reference to the tribe of the Audumbara in the *Mahabharata* (Bombay Edition 2.52.13), where they are mentioned among various peoples who came to pay tribute to the Pandava King, Yudhishthira, together with the Kasmiras, Daradas (Dards) and Trigartas. In Varahamihira's *Brihat Samhita*, they are found among the nations of Central India, but the geographical data contained in Sanskrit works are usually vague and inaccurate.

Professor Rapson has the following note on the Audumbara coins :—"Audumbara, or the country of the Udumbaras, was situated in that region of the Punjab in which the two alphabets of ancient India, Brahmi and Kharoshthi, were used concurrently. The coins are found in the neighbourhood of Pathankot in the Gurdaspur District. They show the influence of the Greek type of coinage. In fabric and style they somewhat resemble the coins of Apollodotus, a prince of the house of Euthydemus, and they are sometimes found in association with them. Their date would seem to be about 100 B.C." (*Ancient India*, Rapson, pages 154-5).

From all this it seems probable that Audumbara was the ancient name of the whole district, in which were situated the two towns of Nurpur and Pathankot, as known by their present names. It also seems probable that Pratishtana was the

¹As the ancient Sanskrit name of Kulu was Kuluta, the identification of the people of Kulu with the Kulindas cannot be upheld; nor can *Dhameri* be an abbreviation of *Audumbara*.

ancient capital of the district or State, of which the name of one Raja, Dharaghosha, has come down to us, on whose coin is found the following legend: *Mahadevasarajna Dharaghoshasa Odumbarisa*," meaning "(Coin) of the Great Lord, King Dharaghosha, Prince of Audumbara."¹ This legend occurs on both the obverse and reverse of the coin and in the Kharoshthi and Brahmi characters, respectively, which were used concurrently in that region of the Panjab. The date of the coin according to Rapson is about B.C. 100.² The ruler referred to may possibly have been one of the Ranas, as indeed he calls himself, who are known to have held sway all over the Western Hills in ancient times. The name, *Audumbara*, probably continued in use as the name of the district, down almost to the time of the Muhammadan invasions, after which Pratishthana, or Paithan, came into prominence, as the original capital of the Nurpur State. It is noteworthy that even as late as the reign of Shahjahan, that State was still called "Mau and Paithan," and not till a still later period was it designated by the name of Nurpur. The transfer of the capital from Pathankot to Nurpur, then called Dhameri, occurred in the time of Akbar, but there is no reason to believe that Nurpur was only then founded; on the contrary, as already suggested, it also probably was an ancient town, and may have been one of the seats of the earlier dynasty already referred to. Its former name is spelt in many different ways, of which the following are examples:—Dahmal, Damal, Dahmari, Dahmehri, Dhamari, Dhameri, Dhammeri. In the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* it is Dhameri, a form which is reflected in the works of the old European travellers as 'Temmerly.' As Dhameri it is well known in the district at the present day. As we have seen, Alberuni calls it Dahmala. In the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (A.D. 1585) it is called Damal, and is described as "situated on the summit of a high hill on the borders of Hindustan." The fort was captured by Ibrahim Ghaznavi (A.D. 1058-89) after a long siege. The reference is as follows:³—

"After capturing this fort (Jud) Ibrahim directed his attention towards another, called Damal, which was situated on the summit of a high hill on the borders of Hindustan. On one side of this fort there was a large river, reported to be

¹ Another coin of the Audumbara Rajas is recorded in Volume I, *Indo-Greek Coins*, Punjab Museum, with the legend—*Rajna Vamakisa Rudravarmasa vijayata*.

² *Ancient India*, Rapson, page 155.

³ *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Elliot's *History*, Volume V, page 162.

impassable, and on the other a large thorny jungle, into which nothing but the rays of the sun could penetrate. The jungle was, moreover, infested with venomous serpents and flies, and abounded with elephants of enormous size. It was inhabited by a race of Hindus of gigantic form, and it was the most celebrated of all the places of Hindustan. At the foot of the hill there was no level ground suited for his operations. Ibrahim, nevertheless, with his usual courage, made an attempt to take the fort, and through the aid of God soon captured it. He took possession of an immense quantity of property and jewels, the like of which had never been seen."

This reference is interesting, as proving that a fort had existed at Dhameri (Nurpur) from ancient times, long before the one erected by Raja Basu.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Dhameri is referred to as a *pargana* of the Bari Doab, which yielded a revenue of 7,297,015 *dams*, (40 *dams*=1 Akbari rupee), and furnished 250 horses and 2,000 foot.

The Nurpur Fort, now partly demolished, was begun by Raja Basu, A.D. 1580-1613, and added to by succeeding Rajas, as is evident from the existing portions of the work; an earlier fort must have stood on the same site. The stronghold is situated on a plateau forming the western end of the ridge on which the town is built, with almost precipitous cliffs of sandstone on three sides, overlooking the Jabhar Khad, a tributary of the Chakki. The main gateway and some of the bastions and curtains are still extant, and present an imposing appearance when viewed from the west, on the approach from Pathankot to Nurpur.

The principal structures in the fort to which reference may be made are :¹ a ruined temple, probably erected by Raja Basu, and a Thakurdavara, said to have been built by Raja Mandhata, grandson of Raja Jagat-Singh. The foundations of the temple had become completely covered up with *debris*, and its existence forgotten, when, in 1886, it was accidentally discovered, and excavated by the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor to the Panjab Government. Only the basement portion remains, which is profusely decorated with carvings of the mixed Hindu-Mughal style which was in vogue in the reign of Akbar. These carvings do not show any signs of great age, and their freshness and freedom from decay prove that the edifice must have had only a short term

¹ *Archæological Survey Reports*, 1904-05, pages 110-120.

of existence before its demolition. It was probably destroyed after the rebellion of Suraj-Mal, in A.D. 1618. The popular belief, therefore, which attributes its demolition to Mahmud of Ghazni may be dismissed as unworthy of credit. The Thakurdavara does not merit any special notice. It is in the shape of an audience hall, and the main feature is the fresco ornamentation representing scenes in Krishna's life, and a Hindu Raja in one of the spandrels, probably Mandhata, the founder of the shrine. The image of Krishna, which the building contains, is of black marble and good workmanship. The town of Nurpur formerly enjoyed a considerable amount of prosperity, as a centre of trade with Chamba, Kashmir and Ladakh, and also from the manufacture of shawls. After the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-1, the shawl trade declined, and since then Nurpur has become partly depopulated.

Pathan is often mentioned in the rhyming Hindi poem of the capture of Kangra by Firoz Tughlaq (A.D. 1351-89), which was written soon after the accession of Akbar, but there seems to be no historical mention of the place under that name previous to this. The fort of Pathankot is now a ruin, about 600 feet square. It was demolished after the annexation of the Panjab in 1849, the bricks being used at Madhopur in connection with the head-works of the Bari Doab Canal. They are of large size—a certain proof, says Sir A. Cunningham, of Hindu origin and great age. The original town of Pathankot stood on the high ground to the east and north-east of the fort, where mounds still mark the site and ancient coins have been found. The present town is said to have been founded in the fifteenth century.

The Rajas of Pathankot and Nurpur are called Pandir or descendants of the Pandavas,—a claim which they share with the royal families of Basohli, Kulu, Bhadu, Bhadrawah, Mandi and Suket. They are, therefore, of the Chandarbansi or Lunar Race of Rajputs. They claim descent from the Tunwar or Tomar Rajas of Delhi, whose line came to an end about A.D. 1176, with the accession of Prithi-Raj Chauhan, of Ajmer, to the throne of Delhi.

The early history of the State, from its foundation to the reign of Raja Bakht-Mal in the time of Akbar (A.D. 1556), is very uncertain and its chronology is purely conjectural. From the latter period, however, a great amount of historical

material is at our disposal in the works of the Muhammadan historians, and the date of each Raja's reign can be fixed, with a near approach to accuracy.

The two lists, one by Sir A. Cunningham and the other by Mian Raghunath Singh, vary considerably in the early portion, both as regards the names of the Rajas and the order of their succession. It is impossible to decide which is correct, but from a chronological point of view Cunningham's list seems the more reliable. In the other list a historical note occurs which, if authentic, helps us to arrive at an approximate date for the foundation of the State. It is to the effect that Raja Jas-Pal, the fifteenth in descent from the founder, ruled in the time of Ala-ud-din Khilji of Delhi (A.D. 1295-1316). If, therefore, we allow an average of twenty years to each reign we find that the State may have been founded about A.D. 1000. Cunningham places it at A.D. 1095.¹ The founder, named *Jhet-Pal*, is said to have been a younger brother of the reigning Raja of Delhi, of the Tomar line of Rajputs. Leaving his home after what seems to have been the fashion of the time, he travelled northward in search of a kingdom, and crossed the Bias at a ford called Bhet. For this reason, it is said, he acquired the name of Rana Bhet. At that time Pathankot is said to have been in the possession of a Pathan Chief, whom Jhet-Pal expelled and named the place Pathan after its previous owner. This story we may safely assume to be purely fictitious. As already stated, the early Muhammadan historians, both in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* as well as the *Badshahnamah*, all call it Paithan. The Rajas who followed Jhet-Pal were : *Khetr-Pal*, *Sukin-Pal*, *Jagat-Pal*, *Ram-Pal*, *Gopal-Pal*, *Arjan-Pal*, *Varsha-Pal*, *Jatan-Pal*, *Vidurath-Pal*, *Jagan-Pal*, *Kirat-Pal*, *Kakho-Pal* and *Jas-Pal*. Of the reigns of these Rajas we know nothing, but the last named, Jas-Pal, is said to have ruled from A.D. 1313 to 1353 and to have been a contemporary of Ala-ud-din Khilji. This seems not at all improbable. He had nine sons, each of whom, according to the vernacular history, was the progenitor of a branch of the Pathania family, which has twenty-two existing sub-divisions, each with a subordinate *al* or family surname.

Kailas-Pal, A.D. 1353-97.—The succeeding Rajas for a considerable period are credited with long reigns, but this

¹ *Archæological Survey Report*, Volume XIV, 1873-79, pages 115-119.

may simply be due to the fact that some names have dropped out of the *Vansavali* in the process of copying,—a thing as we know of frequent occurrence in ancient times. Kalas or Kailas-Pal is accorded the credit of having defeated and wounded a famous Muhammadan general, named Tatar Khan, ruler or governor of Khorasan, who invaded the Panjab : and as a reward received from the Delhi Sultan a *mansab* of 5,000. More probably the tradition refers to some local conflict between the Pathania Chief and Tatar Khan, viceroy of the Panjab under Muhammad Tughlaq (A.D. 1325-51). If so, it must have taken place previous to A.D. 1342, the year in which Tatar Khan was killed in battle with the Gakhars.¹ A couplet commemorating the incident has come down to our own time :²—

Jo mukh dekhān arsi sise dil-kananda

Mathe phat Tatar Khan Kailase anda.

Free translation—

“ When he looks at his face in the heart-rending mirror,
Tatar Khan sees on his forehead the scar (of the
wound) inflicted by Kailas.”

This Raja is said to have constructed the *Ranki Kuhl* or irrigation channel from the Ravi to Pathankot, which is still in existence.

Nag-Pal, A.D. 1397-1438.³—Nag Pal was the eldest son of Kailas-Pal and, as is alleged, received his name from the fact that a Nag or snake was born along with him. The snake was ultimately put into a *baoli* or well, prepared for it, and is still regarded as the *Kulaj* or family deity of the Pathania clan. Several branches of the family are said to be descended from Nag-Pal.

Prithi or Phato-Pal, A.D. 1438-73.—This Raja's name is uncertain and we have no information of the events of his reign.

Bhil-Pal, A.D. 1473-1513.—Bhil-Pal was a contemporary of Sikandar Lodi of Delhi (A.D. 1488-1516), and is said to have assisted him in his wars and received an accession of territory in reward. This is the first reference to the Muhammadans in the history, but we may safely assume that the

¹ Ferishta, Briggs, trans., 1908, Volume I, page 425.

² *Tauarikh Rajagan Pathania*, page 57.

³ The dates from the vernacular history are only approximate.

State became subject to them at an early period. The Panjab came under Muhammadan rule from the time of its conquest by Mahmud of Ghazni, and the States bordering on the plains would naturally be the first to suffer. In any case it seems probable that the Pathania Rajas, realizing their danger, made it a part of their policy to keep on good terms with the new paramount power at Lahore and Delhi, and thus saved their country by timely submission. One result of this probably was that the State boundaries were greatly enlarged. Traditionally they are said to have extended far into the plains and in the opposite direction to the borders of Chamba and Kangra.

Bakht-Mal, A.D. 1513-58.—With this Raja's reign we are brought into touch with contemporaneous history, for he is referred to in the *Akbarnamah*. The original suffix of the Pathania family was 'Pal,' and Sir A. Cunningham assumed that this suffix continued in use down to the reign of Bakht-Mal. This, however, is uncertain.

Bakht-Mal's reign covered an eventful period in Indian history. Like his father he attached himself to the Lodi dynasty. On the conquest of India by Babar in A.D. 1526 the State must have come under Mughal control, but on the flight of Humayun in A.D. 1540 and the accession of Sher Shah, Bakht-Mal transferred his allegiance to the Sur dynasty, to which he remained faithful to the end. From the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* we learn that the famous fortress of Maukot was erected within State territory by Salim Shah Sur (A.D. 1545-53), that is, during the reign of Bakht-Mal.¹ Ferishta also says that Salim Shah Sur had a narrow escape at Maukot from being assassinated. While ascending the hill by a narrow path, a man suddenly rushed upon him with a drawn sword, but was cut down. It was then found that the sword had been presented some time before to one of his own officers.² The fortress of Maukot stood on the summit of the Mau range of low hills, running parallel to the Chakki and to the east of that river, about half way between Pathankot and Nurpur. It is frequently referred to by the Muhammadan historians, and figures prominently in the history of the State till the time of Shahjahan, when it was completely demolished.

¹ "Salim Shah Sur, son of Sher Shah, completed the fort of Rohtas (near Jhelam) and founded Maukot in the Siwaliks as a refuge for himself."—*Cf. Akbarnamah*, page 616, paragraph 337.

² Ferishta, Briggs' trans., Volume II, 1909, page 135, and 190-1.

The following reference is from the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* :—

“ Islam Shah stayed some time at Gwalior (Guler) and then set about building the fort of Mankot (Maukot). He went thither and caused five forts to be erected, one of which he named Shergarh ; a second, Islamgarh ; a third, Rashidgarh ; a fourth, Firozgarh, the fifth retained its original name of Mankot (Maukot) and Mangarh (Maugarh). The performances of Islam Shah at this period can only be compared with the works done by the geni for Hazarat Sulaiman (on whom be peace). Those who have beheld these forts know better than any other how miraculously they have been constructed. But Islam Shah at this time behaved harshly towards the people, and gave no money to the nobles and the army for three years.”

The first mention of the fort is in the *Akbarnamah*. In A.D. 1553 Mirza Kamran, younger brother of Humayun, on being driven out of Kabul retired to India and sought an asylum with Salim Shah Sur. He was detained as a prisoner, but succeeded in making his escape and fled to Raja Bakhu, whose State is not named. The name is probably a misspelling for Bakhtu, that is, Raja Bakht-Mal of Paithan. Being pursued he retired to Gahlur (? Kahlur) and then to Jammu. The Raja of Jammu refused him shelter and he made his way to Maukot in disguise. There too he found himself in danger and escaped to the Gakhars, by whom he was surrendered to Humayun and blinded.

On the return of Humayun in A.D. 1555 he was opposed at Sirhind by Sikandar Shah Sur, who was defeated and fled to the Savalak hills. In A.D. 1557 he left his retreat in the Savalaks, and advanced as far as Kalanaur, now in the Gurdaspur District, but on the approach of Akbar he again retired and took refuge in the fortress of Maukot.¹ Bakht-Mal supported Sikandar Sur and assisted in the defence of the fort, which was besieged for six months by the Mughals. On the surrender of the fort in July of the same year, Sikandar Sur was permitted to retire to Bengal where a *jagir* was assigned him, and Bakht-Mal was taken as a prisoner to Lahore and there put to death by Bahram Khan in the following year, A.D. 1558.² The passage in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* referring to this incident is as follows :—“ At the time when the sudden death of Humayun (A.D. 1556) plunged the world

¹ Ferishta, Briggs' trans., Volume II, 1909, pages 190-1 ; also *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Elliot's History, Volume IV, pages 493-6. Maukot was erected by forced labour.

² *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, 167.

NOTE.—Gahlur may be meant either for Kahlur (Bilaspur) or Gwalior (Guler).

in grief, and sleeping quarrels awoke again in every corner and quarter, Sultan Sikandar Sur raised his head to give trouble. Sikandar had taken refuge in the difficult hill country to wait there till Fortune was more favourable. At that time Bakht-Mal held power over this country and was notorious for being unequalled in fostering strife and trouble. Bakht-Mal allied himself with Sultan Sikandar and took measures to further his cause. In the same year of Akbar (A.D. 1557) Sikandar was invested in the fort of Maukot, and daily the signs of misfortune and destruction became more evident on the face of the circumstances of the invested garrison. It is the practice of most Zamindars (petty Chiefs) in Hindustan, not to adhere to one another, but to look about on every side and ally themselves with whatever side they see is winning, or is most capable of continuing the struggle. Thus at this point, by means of zamindar-like wiles, he came in and joined the Imperial camp. When that fort had been reduced and the affair with Sultan Sikandar had been finished, the victorious standards took up their position at the City of Lahore. Now it is not considered a laudable practice to injure those who have submitted of their own accord, even if it has occurred under compulsion of necessity. But having regard to his habit of stirring up strife, and his stubborn disposition, Bahram Khan considered it good policy to suppress him and he was rendered helpless (killed). His brother, Takht-Mal, was put in his place." From this it is clear that Bakht-Mal only deserted Sikandar Sur when the latter's cause was absolutely hopeless, and we can hardly blame him for doing so.

Bakht-Mal is said to have built the fort of Shahpur on the Ravi, naming it after the Shah Sur family. It is still a picturesque ruin, having been demolished only after our annexation of the Panjab. One of the bastions overlooking the Ravi is still in use as a rest-house for Government officers on tour.

Pahari-Mal, A.D. 1558-80.—*Pahari-Mal* is called *Bihari Mal* by Cunningham, and *Takht-Mal** in the Muhammadan histories, and was a brother of the previous Raja. The names are often reversed by the historians, but the order in which they are here given seems the correct one. Of *Takht-Mal*'s reign we have few details, and it seems to have been uneventful. Things had settled down into comparative quiet during Akbar's reign, and the Pathania Chief probably found it to his advantage to give as little trouble as possible. Realizing the danger of having his capital at Pathankot, so near the plains, he is said to have formed the design of moving it to

**Takht Mal* is probably referred to under the name *Choto* in connection with the expedition of A.D. 1572.

Nurpur, then called Dhameri, but died before this change could be carried into effect.

Bas-Dev, A.D. 1580-1613.—*Bas-Dev* is also called Basu, and in the *Akbarnamah* is designated as “Zamindar of Mau and Paithan.”¹ Soon after his accession he carried his father’s design into execution, by transferring the capital to Dhameri, which his son, Jagat-Singh, renamed Nurpur in honour of the Emperor Jahangir, whose name was Nur-ud-din. The true origin of the name is confirmed by a statement to this effect in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* and the *Badshahnamah*. Cunningham is, therefore, incorrect in saying that the name was given in honour of Nur Jahan Begam.² From the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* and *Shash Fateh-i-Kangra* we learn further that the name was given on the occasion of the Emperor’s visit, in A.D. 1622, on his way back from Kangra.

The first mention of Raja Basu in the Mughal annals is in the reign of Akbar. Basu had then been only a few years on the *gaddi*, during which he seems to have been wholly submissive, but in A.D. 1585 he rebelled. The reference is as follows :³— “When the rule of that country (Paithan) descended to Raja Basu, he followed continuously the high road of loyalty and submission and performed good service. After the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim (Akbar’s younger brother) and the conquest of Zabulistan (Ghazni), Akbar considered it advisable to make a stay in the Panjab Province. At that time, out of shortsightedness and want of intelligence, Raja Basu raised his head in rebellion. For this reason, in the 31st year of Akbar (A.D. 1585), Hasan Beg Shaikh Umari was told off to march against him, and if he did not submit he was to be attacked and punished. When the Imperial force reached Paithan, he was awakened from his dream of forgetfulness by a letter from Raja Todar Mal, and accompanied Hasan Beg to press the forehead of submissiveness on the Imperial threshold.”⁴

Such rebellions were of frequent occurrence among the Panjab Hill Chiefs, and in the 35th year of Akbar (A.D. 1589-90), there seems to have been a general and concerted rising, in which no fewer than thirteen hill Chiefs are said to have been involved. Zain Khan Kokah, Akbar’s foster-

¹ Also in *Ma’asir-ul-Umara* and *Badshahnamah*.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, page 143.

³ *Badshahnamah*, Volume II, page 287, and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans., II, 226.

⁴ *Ma’asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, 159.

brother, was sent to suppress the revolt, in which he was successful. The *Ain-i-Akbari* says : " Most of them, as Raja Budi- (Bidhi) Chand of Nagarkot,¹ Rai Partap of Mankot,² Raja Parasram of Mount Jamu, Raja Basu of Mau, Rai Balbhadar of Lakhimpur, etc., submitted and accompanied Zain Khan to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 horse and a lakh of foot soldiers."³ A few years later Raja Basu was again in trouble in conjunction with some of the neighbouring Chiefs, as will be seen from the following :⁴— " Afterwards, in the 41st year of Akbar (A.D. 1594-5), having made alliance with a number of the local rulers, he once more through his evil disposition turned his head away from obedience to commands. Akbar, therefore, granted Paithan and the neighbouring lands to Mirza Rustam Qandahari, and sent him against that man forgetful of consequences. Asaf Khan was ordered to join with reinforcements. Owing to disagreement between the two leaders, the work of the State was not performed. Mirza Rustam was recalled and replaced by Jagat-Singh, son of Raja Man-Singh (of Amber). The Imperial commanders acted in unison and resolved on performing their duty. They surrounded the fort of Mau, the dwelling of that overproud one. It is famed for its strength and the difficulty of reducing it. For two months they proved the quality of their valour by vigorous attacks. In the end, the fort was surrendered to them."⁵

Raja Basu seems again to have been pardoned on his submission, but the Pathankot *pargana* was permanently annexed by Akbar. In the 47th year of Akbar (A.D. 1602-3), reports were once more received that he was in rebellion, and a force was despatched against him. He had probably again taken refuge in the fortress of Mau, though this is not stated, and Jamil Beg, son of Taj Khan, was killed by his men. Afterwards the Raja " laid hold of the skirts of supplication and finally on the petition of the Prince (Salim) the pen of forgiveness was drawn across his offences."⁶

But even then Raja Basu's turbulent spirit was not completely quelled, and in the 49th year (A.D. 1603-4), he seems to have been again in revolt. We read that " when the Prince (Salim) for the second time attended on his exalted father, he also came in his train in the hope of being pardoned,

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans., I, page 344.

² *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, 167-170.

³ Raja Basu's stand against Akbar is the theme of a song or bar sung by the hill bards.

⁴ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, 160.

but from excess of fear he drew up on the other side of the river (at Lahore). Before the Prince could open his mouth to beg for Basu's pardon, Akbar sent Madhu-Singh Kushwaha to seize him, but the Raja, being put upon his guard, escaped."¹

Basu had enjoyed a *mansab* of 1,500 under Akbar, and when Jahangir came to the throne it was increased to 3,500. He seems to have been in special favour with Jahangir and supported him against Akbar. Possibly some of the rebellions to which reference has been made were stirred up by Jahangir, for we know that, at a later time, Shahjahan pursued the same policy when in revolt against his father.

In A.D. 1611 Lahore was visited by William Finch² in connection with certain transactions in indigo in which he was interested. Finch must have seen Raja Basu, whom he calls a "minion" of Jahangir's, and he makes the following reference to the State: "Alongst the Ravee Easterly lyeth the land of Rajaw Bassow whose chiefe seat is Temmery 50 c. from Lahore. He is a mighty Prince now subject to the Mogol, a great Minion of Shah Selim. Out of this and the adjoyning Regions come most of the Indian Drugges, growing on the Mountains:—Spikenard, Turbith, Miras, Kebals, Gunlack, Turpentine, Costus, etc. This Raja confines the king's land Easterly." He also relates that 'Rajaw Bassow' was pictured among the nobles of Jahangir, and as standing on the king's left hand, in certain fresco paintings which he saw in the Lahore Fort and which no longer exist.

The first reference to Basu³ in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* is in Zi'l-Qada A.H. 1014 (March A.D. 1606) and is as follows:—"In those days many servants of the State obtained higher ranks, amongst them I raised Dilawar Khan, Afghan, to 1,500 and I raised Raja Basu, who is a Zamindar of the hill country of the Panjab, and who from the time I was prince till now has kept the way of service and sincerity towards me, and held the rank of 1,500 to 3,500." The next mention is in connection with the flight of Khusrau from Agra in March, A.D. 1606, and his rebellion against his father. It runs thus: "In the evening of the day of Khusrau's flight I gave Raja Basu, who is a trusty Zamindar of the hill country of Lahore, leave to go to that frontier, and wherever he heard news or trace of Khusrau to make every effort to capture him." Khusrau was captured at the Sodhra ferry on the Chenab, a few miles

¹ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, 160.

² *J. P. H. S.*, Volume I, No. 2, pages 126-130.

³ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans., Volume I, pages 49 and 65.

above Wazirabad, but what share, if any, Raja Basu had in the capture we do not know. There is yet another reference to Raja Basu, as follows: "On the 27th Zi'l-Qada (March, A.D. 1607) Abdulla Khan brought Ram-Chand Bandela in chains. I ordered them to take the fetters from his legs and bestowed on him a robe of honour (*khilat*) and handed him over to Raja Basu, that he might take security and release him and a number of his relations who had been captured with him." It would appear that Ram-Chand had for a long time been giving trouble in the province of Bandelkhand, and was at last captured. For a rebel he certainly received very generous treatment at the Emperor's hands.¹

Raja Basu does not seem to have been employed on any military expeditions during the reign of Akbar, at least we are not told of any. He was probably disqualified by his frequent rebellions. After the accession of Jahangir he appears to have been much about the court, but it was not till near the end of his own reign that he was deputed on active service. In A.D. 1611 an army was sent against the Rana of Mewar (Udaipur), whom Jahangir speaks of as "the rebel Rana," and Raja Basu was put in command. The reference in the Memoirs is as follows:—"As Abdullah Khan, who had been appointed to command the army against the rebel Rana, promised to enter the province of the Dakhan from the direction of Gujarat, I promoted him to be Subadar of that province, and at his request appointed Raja Basu to the command of the army against the Rana, increasing his rank by 500 horse."² In the following year a sword of honour as a special gift was sent by Jahangir to Raja Basu who was still engaged in the campaign, and in A.D. 1613 he died in the *thana* of Shahabad, probably the town of that name in Jhalawar State.³ The news of his death reached Jahangir on 2nd Mihr A.H. 1022 (September, A.D. 1613). The expedition against "the rebel Rana" was in the following year carried to a successful issue by Prince Khurram (Shahjahan).

Raja Basu built or enlarged and strengthened the fort of Nurpur. He also planted a garden of mango trees four miles south of Nurpur near the fort of Maukot, which is referred to in the *Banshahnamah* and still bears the name of "Raja ka Bagh." He had three sons, named Suraj-Mal, Jagat-Singh and Madho-Singh.

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans., Volume I, page 87.

² *Ibid.*, page 200.

³ *Ibid.*, page 252.

Suraj-Mal, A.D. 1613-18.¹—On the death of Raja Basu, Jahangir had much hesitation in installing Suraj-Mal as his successor. The young prince was of a wayward and unruly disposition, in consequence of which his father had become alienated from him, and on one occasion at least had committed him to prison. The other sons, too, had shown “no marks of nobility of character.” As there was no help for it Jahangir, “to provide for the continuance of the chieftainship and for protecting that region, conferred the title of Raja on Suraj-Mal, and favoured him with the rank of 2,000, and granted to him without share or partner the *parganas* of the State, with all the money and goods that had been accumulated by his father in the course of many years.”

As the siege of Kangra Fort was then in progress, Suraj-Mal was ordered to join Murtaza Khan Shaikh Farid, the Commander of the Mughal army, along with his contingent. He was, however, far from feeling grateful for the favours conferred upon him, and soon began to stir up trouble in the Mughal camp. The siege had progressed favourably, and it was evident that the surrender of the fortress could not be long delayed. This did not suit Suraj-Mal's designs and he tried to hinder the operations and make them a failure. Thereupon Murtaza Khan sent a complaint to the Emperor that Suraj-Mal was showing signs of disloyalty. Realising that circumstances were against him he sent a petition to Prince Khurram (Shahjahan),² representing that Murtaza Khan had conceived a dislike to him and had cast on him an unjust suspicion. He prayed that the Prince would intercede for him with the Emperor, and save his life by having him recalled to Court, and this was done.

The matter seems to have been passed over and soon afterwards, in A.D. 1616, Murtaza Khan died at Pathankot and the siege of Kangra Fort was then abandoned. Suraj-Mal, on his recall to Court, was received with favour and was appointed to Shahjahan's army, then about to march for the conquest of the Dakhan.

The reference in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* is as follows :³ “When by the exertions of the Shaikh (Murtaza Khan) the besieged (Kangra Fort) were reduced to extremities and he (Suraj-Mal) saw that a victory could not be far off, he set to

¹ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, 176-177. Suraj-Mal is called Chaupar-Mal in the *Wagiat-i-Jahangiri*. Vide Elliot's *History of India*, Volume VI, page 374.

² Prince Khurram took the name of Shahjahan on becoming Emperor.

³ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, 176-177,

work to hinder the operations and make them a failure, bound round his waist the covering of erroneous conduct and raised arguments and opposition against the men of the said Khan. Murtaza Khan wrote to the Imperial Court that Suraj-Mal's actions betrayed signs of disloyalty and rebellion. Seeing that the presence in those hills of a capable commander such as Murtaza Khan, at the head of a large force, made his preparations for disturbance and disorder impossible, he was forced to apply to the Prince (Khurram), sending to him a petition that Murtaza Khan, instigated by designing persons, had conceived a dislike to him, and, casting on him the suspicion of turbulence and rebellion, was laying plans for uprooting him. He prayed that he would act as the saviour of his life and the means of his deliverance, fortune having abandoned him, by causing him to be summoned to the Imperial Court."

"At the time of these occurrences, early in the 11th year of Jahangir (A.D. 1616), Murtaza Khan folded up the carpet of existence and the reduction of the fort was held in abeyance. He (Suraj-Mal), in pursuance of a request made by the Prince, was recalled to the Imperial Court and was received with favour. Shortly afterwards he was attached to the Prince's force, then about to proceed to the Dakhan. (October, A.D. 1616)."

On Suraj-Mal's return from the Dakhan¹ in A.D. 1617, on the conclusion of the campaign, he addressed a letter to Prince Khurram asking permission to re-invest the Kangra Fort, and promising to capture it in the course of a year. The letter was submitted to the Emperor, who ordered the Prince to make inquiries as to the feasibility of the project, and, if satisfied, to send Suraj-Mal to court for orders.² Accordingly on the 13th of Mihr A.H. 1026 (September, A.D. 1617) Suraj-Mal together with Shah Quli Khan Mohammad Taqi, the *Bakhshi* or paymaster of Khurram, waited on the Emperor and, after stating their requirements for the siege, the engagement to perform the duty was approved. Prince Khurram was entrusted with the charge of the expedition, which he placed under the joint command of Suraj-Mal and Mohammad Taqi, but he himself did not accompany the force. Before his departure Suraj-Mal was honoured with a standard and drums, he was also presented with a *khilat* or dress of honour, an elephant and a jewelled *khapwa* (dagger) and

¹ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, 177-178.

² *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Volume I, 380, 392-3.

Mohammad Taqi with a *khilat*. They then received orders from the Emperor to start for Kangra.¹

Suraj-Mal,² however, was only playing a part, his purpose evidently being to find a pretext for getting back to the hills, in order to stir up trouble. This danger seems to have been realized at the time, for the historian remarks that "it was utterly opposed to the rules of care and caution to allow Suraj-Mal to re-enter the hill country," but the undertaking having been committed to the charge of Prince Khurram the selection for the command of the expedition rested with him, and no one could advise. Soon after reaching Kangra, Suraj-Mal began to quarrel with Shah Quli Khan Mohammad Taqi, and wrote to Prince Khurram that the siege was being hindered by the incompetence of that officer, and requesting that some one more capable might be sent. Mohammad Taqi was in consequence recalled. Suraj-Mal was thus left in sole command for the time being, and the more easily to carry out his designs he, on the pretext that their supplies were exhausted, ordered many of the imperialist contingents to return to their *jagirs* for re-equipment, in anticipation of the arrival of the new commander. The Mughal army being thus greatly reduced in numbers, and incapable of making an effective resistance, Suraj-Mal with his own troops began to raise a rebellion, and ravaged most of the *parganas* at the foot of the hills, which were in the *jagir* of Itimad-ud-daula (father of Nur Jahan Begam). He also carried off all he could lay hands on in the shape of cash and movables. A small Mughal force under Sayyid Safi Barha made a brave stand, but they were all dispersed or killed.

Jahangir was at Ahmadabad in Guzerat when the news of this outbreak reached him, and he at once despatched Smadar Das, Rai-Raiyan, afterwards known as Raja Bikramajit, with reinforcements to suppress it. Jagat-Singh, who was on bad terms with his brother, was also recalled in great haste from Bengal, and sent to join the Rai-Raiyan, with the promise that his father's territory would be granted to him if he remained loyal.

On the approach of the Mughal army,³ Suraj-Mal tried by flattery and deceit to gain the favour of the Rai-Raiyan.

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Volume I, pages 302-303.

² *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, 178.

³ *Ibid.* ; also *Badshahnamah*, Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 88 ; *Kangra Gazetteer*, Appendix I, ii.

Finding that this was of no avail he boldly attacked the imperialists and was defeated. He then took refuge in Maukot, which was captured by a *coup de main*, or, as the historian has it, "without dismounting," and in the confusion Suraj-Mal escaped and fled to Nurpur. Being unable to make a stand there also, he turned "the face of bewilderment" towards the fort of Isral, which was situated in the low hills to the north of Nurpur and within the Chamba State. This fort has not been definitely located, but it may have been the small fort of Perigarh near Isral ka Bassa, in the Tundi *pargana*, not far from Kotla. In Elliot's History Taragarh is supposed to be the fort referred to, but it was not then founded. Being still pursued, Suraj-Mal finally crossed the Dhaula-Dhar and sought refuge in Chamba, where he soon afterwards died.

Meanwhile the Rai-Raiyan was engaged in laying siege to the smaller forts in the territory, all of which were speedily captured, the last to fall being that of Kotla, between Nurpur and Kangra.¹ It was held by Madhu-Singh, youngest son of Raja Basu, and was taken after three days' fighting. Madhu Singh escaped and fled to Chamba, where he rejoined his brother. Kotla was probably annexed and added to the Imperial demesne of Kangra, and the fort was garrisoned by Imperial troops. After the whole territory had been subdued the Rai-Raiyan set out for Chamba, but hearing on the way of Suraj-Mal's death, he despatched a peremptory order to the Chamba Chief to send back all the money and other property belonging to the deceased Raja. This order met with prompt compliance, and Madhu-Singh was also surrendered.

The rebellion being at an end, the Rai-Raiyan laid siege to Kangra Fort, in which he had the assistance of Jagat-Singh, but it did not surrender till after more than fourteen months, during which the garrison was reduced to great straits.

Jagat-Singh, A.D. 1619-46.—Early in his career Jagat-Singh entered the Mughal service, and was granted a *mansab* of 800 by Jahangir and sent to Bengal.² As has been mentioned, he was in Bengal at the time of his brother's rebellion and was recalled "in the greatest haste" by the Emperor, who conferred on him a *mansab* of 1,000 personal and 500 horse, with the title of Raja, a present in cash of Rs. 20,000, also a jewelled dagger, a horse, and an elephant. He was then

¹ Kotla originally belonged to Guler State, but had been seized by Nurpur.

² *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, 238.

sent to the Rai-Raiyan, who was actively engaged in suppressing the revolt, and was afterwards ordered to assist in the siege of Kangra Fort. On its capitulation, in November, A.D. 1620, he seems to have taken up his residence at Nurpur. In the spring of the year 1622, Jahangir paid a visit to the Kangra Valley, coming by Siba and returning by Nurpur and Pathankot. He was accompanied by the Empress, Nur Jahan Begam. An amusing incident is related traditionally in connection with this visit.

So fascinated was the Empress with the beauties of Nurpur, so it is said, that she gave orders for the erection of a palace for herself. This, however, was not at all to Jagat-Singh's liking, so he contrived a cunning device to turn Nur Jahan from her purpose. Being in charge of the work he issued orders that only workmen of ugly appearance and suffering from goitre should be employed. That disease being very common in the district there was no difficulty in finding such workmen. On being apprised of the circumstances, Nur Jahan enquired the reason and was told that it was the effect of the climate of Nurpur. The building operations were therefore abandoned.

This story is more or less corroborated by a statement in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*,¹ that when Jahangir visited Nurpur on his return from Kangra, in A.D. 1622, he was so pleased with the site that he granted a lakh of rupees from the public treasury, "for the construction of lofty mansions worthy of the place."² This was probably done at the request of Nur Jahan Begam. In A.D. 1623 Prince Khurram rebelled against his father, and Jagat-Singh, who had attached himself to the Prince, was sent to raise the petty Chiefs of the Kangra Hills. Sadiq Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab, was ordered by Jahangir to suppress the revolt, and he conferred on Madhu-Singh, younger brother of Jagat-Singh, the title of Raja and sent him to assist in the operations. He was probably encouraged to hope that the State would be made over to him. Jagat-Singh fortified Maukot, but was soon forced to submit and was pardoned. Raja Rup-Chand of Guler was engaged in the suppression of this rebellion, as we learn from the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, just as his son, Man Singh, took part, nearly twenty years later, in the siege of Man and Taragarh, and it was through the intercession of Nur Jahan Begam that Jagat-Singh was forgiven. The reference, which confirms popular

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, page 226.

² It was on the occasion of Jahangir's visit or soon afterwards that Dhameer was renamed Nurpur.

tradition, of Jagat-Singh's influence with the Empress, is as follows: "Helplessly he (Jagat-Singh) then sought for patronage, and begged the protection of Nur Jahan Begam, expressing shame and contrition, and sought a refuge in her mediation. In order to please and satisfy her, the pen of pardon was drawn through the record of his faults."¹ Three years later he was again in revolt, but the affair seems to have been quietly settled.

It is probable that, before his own accession, Jagat-Singh had formed the design of bringing all the surrounding Hill States under the control of Nurpur. The records of the time fully bear out this conclusion. In the Chamba annals, for example, it is stated that there was war with Jagat-Singh for twelve years, from about A.D. 1613 onwards. The war, however, cannot have been continuous, and may have been more of the nature of border forays than actual fighting. It ended in a final invasion of Chamba by Jagat-Singh in A.D. 1628, assisted by Mughal troops, and a battle was fought at Dhalog near Dalhousie, in which the Chamba forces were defeated and the Raja's second son was killed. The Raja then on the *gaddi* was Balabhadra (A.D. 1589-1641), but he had been removed temporarily from power by his officials, and his son Janardan put in his place, most likely as regent, though bearing the title of Raja. Janardan, who had fled from the capital on the approach of the Nurpur army, was persuaded to return, and invited to a conference in the palace, on a promise of safe conduct by Jagat-Singh. While they were engaged in discussion, Jagat-Singh suddenly drew his dagger and plunged it into Janardan's breast, inflicting a mortal wound. The State was then brought under Jagat-Singh's control and is said to have been ruled by his officials for twenty years.²

But Chamba was not the only Hill State to suffer at Jagat-Singh's hands. Unfriendly feeling had been aroused between him and Bhupat-Pal of Basohli, who, on a false accusation it is said, was arrested by Jahangir and cast into prison, in Dehli, where he languished for fourteen years. Jagat-Singh then took possession of the Basohli State and placed it under the charge of his own officers. It is probable, indeed, that Basohli was the first to come under his control, as early as A.D. 1614-15. On the release of Bhupat-Pal, probably about A.D. 1627, he returned to Basohli in disguise, and, having

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans., Volume II, page 280. ² *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 88-89.

collected a force from among his own people he expelled the Nurpur garrison and recovered the State. But this was not the end of it all. Some time afterwards Bhupat-Pal went to Delhi to pay his respects to the Emperor, and Jagat-Singh, it is said, had him assassinated.

The Rajas of Guler and Suket are also said to have been imprisoned by the Emperor in consequence of false accusations brought against them by the Nurpur Chief, and this may have been the reason for the strong feeling which existed between him and Man-Singh of Guler, who in the *Badshah-namah* is called "the mortal enemy of Jagat-Singh."

The Mandi records state that Jagat-Singh also planned to bring that State under his control by assassinating the Mandi Chief, who was his own son-in-law, while in Nurpur for his marriage. In this, however, he was unsuccessful, as the Mandi Raja became aware of the plot and fled.

Before Jahangir's death,¹ Jagat-Singh had been raised to a *mansab* of 3,000 personal and 2,000 horse. "On the accession of Shahjahan, in A.D. 1627, he was confirmed in his rank, and in the eighth year (A.D. 1634) he was appointed Thanadar of Lower Bangash (Kurru) and two years later was sent to Kabul. There he distinguished himself by capturing Karim Dad, the son of Jalala the Tariki then in rebellion.² In the 11th year of Shahjahan (A.D. 1637) Qandahar was betrayed to the Mughals by the Persian Governor, Ali Mardan Khan; and Said Khan was sent from Kabul to oppose the Persian forces. On this occasion, Jagat-Singh was placed in command of the *haraval* or vanguard. On arriving at Qandahar he was sent to effect the conquest of Zamin-i-Davar, and afterwards accompanied the Mughal army to Bust where he rendered good service. In the 12th year (A.D. 1638-39) he returned to Lahore, received presents from the Emperor and was appointed Faujdar or Governor of Lower and Upper Bangash (Kurru and Kohat)."

His elder son, Rajrup,³ who was in Nurpur, had been appointed Faujdar of the Koh-i-Daman of Kangra and collector of the yearly *nazarana* or tribute money from the hill

¹ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, 239.

² *Tariki* (unenlightened), a nickname applied by Akbar to a heretical sect among the Yusufzai Afghans, in mockery of the name of *Roshanai* (enlightened) which they had assumed. The sect was founded by one Bayazid, whose youngest son, Jalala, took the lead on his father's death, and it continued to give trouble down to the reign of Shahjahan. The famous Birbal was killed in an expedition against the Yusufzais,—*vide* Elphinstone, pages 450-1-2-3.

³ *Badshahnamah*, II, page 237.

Chiefs of that district (including probably most of the States between the Ravi and Satluj), which was valued at four lakhs of rupees.

While the father and son held these high offices of honour and trust, they were, for some reason not clearly known to us, engaged in plotting a rebellion against the Emperor. Court intrigues against him are hinted at by Jagat-Singh in his petition to Shahjahan, of which the substance has been preserved in the *Badshahnamah*. He doubtless had many enemies, some envious of his prestige and others actuated by feelings of revenge. But rebellion was no uncommon thing with the Pathania Rajas, as we have already seen, and a high-spirited man like Jagat-Singh would ill brook any real or imaginary insult.

In the summer of A.D. 1640,¹ when the Emperor was in Kashmir, rumours began to reach the court that Rajrup meditated an outbreak. When the matter became public, Jagat-Singh who was still in Bangash, but was in secret league with his son, sent a petition to Shahjahan asking to be appointed Faujdar of the Koh-i-Daman of Kangra, when he would punish Rajrup and send in the tribute money of the hill Chiefs, which he estimated at four lakhs of rupees. His request was granted, but on reaching his native territory he began to show signs of disloyalty. A high officer was sent by the Emperor to make enquiries, and on receipt of his report, confirming the rumours of disaffection on the part of Jagat-Singh, orders were at once given for the concentration of three army corps in the neighbourhood of Paithan (Pathankot). Murad Bakhsh, the Emperor's youngest son—then in Kabul—was appointed to the supreme command of the expedition, and he was directed to proceed at once to Paithan by way of Sialkot. He accordingly reached Paithan in August A.D. 1641, and found the three armies assembled and awaiting his coming. Shahjahan himself seems to have been in Lahore. As already mentioned, the Pathankot *pargana*, including all the lands west of the Chakki river and between it and the Ravi—excluding the *ilagas* of Shahpur, Kandi and Palahi—had in the reign of Raja Basu been severed from Nurpur and annexed by Akbar. The Pathankot Fort was, therefore, most probably held by Mughal troops.

Jagat-Singh had long been preparing for this emergency and had strengthened the three principal forts in his territory,

¹ *Badshahnamah*, II, pages 238-9.

viz. Maukot, Nurpur and Taragarh, and furnished them with all available weapons of war. Maukot was nearest the plains, being situated a little more than half way from Pathankot to Nurpur, on the summit of the range of low hills running to the east of the Chakki. It was really a fortified enclosure with dense jungle all round it, and was a place of great strength.¹ Few vestiges of the fortifications now remain, as it was completely demolished by order of Shahjahan.² The Nurpur Fort, of which the massive ruins may still be seen, stands on a plateau (2,125 feet) to the south-west of the town and had deep ravines on three sides. The main entrance was to the north. Taragarh is twelve miles north of Nurpur, within the Chamba State, and was built by Jagat-Singh about A.D. 1625-30, "as a refuge for an evil day." It was a fortified hill of a conical shape, rising to 4,230 feet with deep ravines all around it. On it there were three forts one above the other, the highest crowning the summit of the hill which is clearly visible from the cantonment of Bakloh.

Jagat-Singh made a brave resistance to the overwhelming force sent against him.³ His first stand was at Maukot, which was under his personal command, while Nurpur seems, from the account in the *Badshahnamah*, to have been held by Rajrup. The siege of these forts was begun by separate divisions of the Mughal army in the early part of October, A.D. 1641, and by the middle of December the position at Maukot was untenable. Jagat-Singh then escaped and fled with his two sons to Taragarh, and two days later Nurpur Fort was also abandoned. After some delay Taragarh Fort was also invested by the Mughal army, and the siege was pressed so vigorously that in the middle of March Jagat-Singh was reduced to extremities and compelled to capitulate. He then, along with his sons, submitted himself to the clemency of the Emperor, and after appearing in Darbar with halters round their necks, they were forgiven and had all their honours restored. The site of the Mughal headquarters near Taragarh, called Amb-ka-Bagh, is still pointed out by the people, and traditionally the siege is said to have lasted for twelve years. The Mughals are said to have planted mango trees and to have departed after eating the first fruit.⁴

¹ The common idea of the strength of the fortress is reflected in the popular saying which has come down to our time:—*Mau-ki-muhim, yaro, mau-ki-nishani hai*. "The Mau expedition, friends, is a call to (certain) death."

² In the *Mu'asir-ul-Umara*, the two forts are called Mau and Mahri, the latter name evidently being a clerical error for Damarhi. It is also called Nurgarh.

³ *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 90-1-2; *Kangra Gazetteer*, Appendix I. iii.

⁴ The mango tree fruits for the first time in its tenth year.

The *Badshahnamah* gives a full account of the rebellion, which is so interesting and graphic that we subjoin a free translation, retaining many of the quaint expressions of the original :¹—

“ In the twelfth year of the blessed accession (of Shah-jahan) (A.D. 1638) when the capital of Lahore was embellished with the brilliance of the gilded crescent on the flag spears of prosperity, Raja Rajrup, eldest son of the ill-starred Jagat-Singh, obtained an order appointing him Faujdar of Kangra and Collector of the *nazarana* from the *Zamindars* (petty Chiefs) of those parts. In the third year of the cycle (A.D. 1640) when the court was in the pleasant country of Kashmir, owing to the secret conspiracy which the unworthy son had with the wicked father, the signs of rebellion were manifest. When the matter became public, the infamous Jagat-Singh sent a petition through some servants of the Imperial carpet, to the effect that if the Faujdari (of Kangra) were conferred on him he would undertake to capture Rajrup, punish him for his misdeeds and collect the four lakhs of rupees from the zamindars as *nazarana*. When his petition had been granted and he had reached his native territory, Jagat-Singh, trusting to the height of the mountains, the narrowness of the passes and the denseness of the forests ; while outwardly professing obedience to the royal commands and prohibitions, was secretly busy preparing means for opposition and rebellion. He strengthened all his forts, especially that of Taragarh, erected by him on the summit of a high mountain, which he had filled with arms and weapons of defence, preparing it in accordance with his foolish judgment as a refuge for an evil day ; but like his brother, Suraj-Mal, he only brought about his own fall and ruin.”

“ When the news of this event reached the Emperor, an order was issued for his citation. As he forwarded a petition indicating certain reasons for non-attendance, and besides had never before been disobedient to the Imperial commands, Shahjahan sent Sundar Kabrai to make inquiries into his affairs. If he was nourishing the thought of rebellion from ignorance and misunderstanding he should be warned of the evil consequences of disloyalty. A second order was at the same time issued for his citation. After an interview with Jagat-Singh, Sundar-Das reported as follows : ‘ He pretends to be overcome with fear and begs that he may be allowed to

¹*Badshahnamah*, II, page 237-ff.

stay for another year in his native territory, and he will send Rajrup to beg pardon for his own and his father's crimes, with orders to remain faithful to the sublime vestibule. But in reality he has deviated from the path of obedience and is trying to dispose the means of his own ruin.' ”

“ As the suspicion which had crept into the minds of the nobles of the court proved to be true, three armies under three competent and loyal commanders were appointed to root out that traveller in the desert of distraction.”

“ The first army was under the command of Sayyid Khan Jahan Barha, supported by Nazar Bahadur Kheshagi, and his son Shams-ud-din Zul-Fiqar Khan, Raja Amar Singh of Narwar, Sayyid Lutf-Ali, Jalal-ud-din Mahmud, Rao Dan-Singh Bhadauriya, Mir Buzurg, Sarmast, son of Itimad Rai, and a number of other officers (*Mansabdars*),¹ and *Ahadis* of archery and musketry and *Zamindars*. The second army was commanded by Sa'id Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang, with his sons and relations, Raja Rai Singh, Iltifat Khan Safavi, Gokal Das Sisodia, Rai Singh Jhala, Kripa Ram, Nad Ali and Chait Singh with other *Mansabdars* and *Ahadis* of archery and musketry, and Mushki Beg, *Bakhshi* (paymaster) of the King's eldest son (Dara Shikoh), with one thousand horsemen of the Prince's contingent.”

“ The third army was under Asalat Khan, with his brother, Abdul Kafi; Muhammad Amin and Muhammad Mumin, sons of Shah Quli Khan, other *Mansabdars* and *Ahadis*, Khusru Beg, the servant of Yanin-ud-Daula (Asaf Khan, Khan-i-Khauan, brother of Nur Jahan and father of Mumtaz Mahal) with one thousand horsemen of Islam Khan, under his paymaster. The command of the three armies was conferred upon the high-born prince (Murad Bakhsh), and orders were issued that he with Raja Jai Singh, Rao Amar Singh, Jan Sipar Khan, Akbar Quli Sultan Gakhar, Hari Singh Rathor, Chandar Man Bandela, Daulat Khan Qiyam Khani, Rai Kashi Das, Khizr Sultan, Gakhar, and Khalil Beg with 700 *Ahadis*, Nahir Solanki, Baba-i-Kheshagi and other *Mansabdars* should start from the province of Kabul to Paithan by way of Sialkot.”

¹ *Mansabdars* were the nobility of the Mughal Empire—Muhammadan and Hindu—of whom the higher grades were called *Amirs*, and any *Mansabdar* of the lower grade might be promoted to the rank of *Amir* by the Emperor. *Ahadis* were respectable men who enlisted in the Imperial army one by one of their own free-will, and were not included in the contingents of the *Mansabdars*: so-called from *ahad*—one. *Zamindars* were the hill Chiefs. *Mansabs* ranged from 10 to 20,000, all above 10,000 being reserved for the Princes.

‘ In dismissing the three armies on the 17th Jamad-ul-Awwal, A.H. 1051 (14th August, 1641), the Emperor ordered Sayyid Khan Jahan and Sa'id Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang to assemble at Raipur and Bahrampur and await the arrival of the Prince.¹ Asalat Khan was directed to hasten to Jammu and collect the Zamindari contingents of that district. On the arrival of the Prince, all three were to proceed with him to Paithan and prosecute the campaign to the utmost of their ability. The Emperor presented Sayyid Khan Jahan with a *khilat*, two horses from the royal stable, one with a golden and the other with a gilt saddle, an elephant from his own enclosure with a female elephant, and one lakh of rupees in cash. Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang received a *khilat*, two horses from the royal stable, one with a golden and the other with a gilt saddle, and an elephant from his own enclosure with a female elephant. Asalat Khan, Raja Rai Singh, Iltifat Khan, Nazar Bahadur Kheshagi, Zul-Fiqar Khan, Shams-ud-din, son of Nazar Bahadur, Raja Amar Singh, Narwari, Gokal Das Sisodia and Rai Singh Jhala each received a *khilat* and a horse, and some of the other officers a horse only. Sultan Nazar was appointed war reporter with the army of Sayyid Khan Jahan, and Qazi Nizama with that of Sa'id Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang. When Prince Murad Bakhsh reached Paithan from Kabul he was met by the various commanders, who had, till the end of the rainy season, been awaiting his arrival to begin the campaign. Sa'id Khan, Raja Jai Singh and Asalat Khan were ordered to invest the fort of Mau, while Prince Murad Bakhsh remained at Paithan to forward supplies and other requisites for the army.”

“ On the 2nd Jamad-us-Sani (29th August, 1641), Sayyid Khan Jahan, in accordance with orders, started from Raipur, where he had been encamped, towards Nurpur by way of the Balhavan hill, but on reaching the foot of the hill he found that Rajrup, the elder son of Jagat Singh, had blocked the way and was lying in ambush. Najabat Khan, the leader of the vanguard, engaged the enemy and routed them. The barricades which had been erected in the pass were torn down, and the hill having been captured, Khan Jahan moved on with all speed to the Machhi Bhawan hill. There too stockades had been erected to block the way, but a hillman pointed out an unknown and difficult path which had not been blocked, and by it the army on the 14th of Rajab (9th October,

¹ The three armies were composed of about 35,000 men.

1641) reached the summit of a hill, half a *kos* from Nurpur and commanding the fort. The houses outside the fort were looted, and next morning the army advanced to the foot of the fort. Khan Jahan then found that the place was strongly fortified and garrisoned with a force of 2,000 hill-men and fully equipped with the munitions of war. As it could not be taken without a siege, he distributed the sides of the fort among his officers and ordered them to erect batteries for the assault."

"In the meantime Sa'id Khan had marched along the skirts of the Hara hills, and Raja Jai Singh and Asalat Khan by the way of the Chakki river, and both met in the vicinity of Mau and encamped on a level spot near the garden of Raja Basu. The jungle around the fort was so dense that a bird could hardly spread its wings within it, and the paths were all blocked with barricades of wood and stone, on which bastions and fortifications had been erected, defended by musketeers and bowmen. Batteries had therefore to be erected and every means used to destroy the barricades, which were obstinately defended by the enemy."

"On the 17th Rajab (12th October), Qilij Khan and Rustam Khan joined the Prince at Paithan, and in accordance with the Emperor's orders the former was sent to Mau and the latter to Nurpur. As it was reported to the Prince, by some of the loyal Zamindars (petty Chiefs), that the occupation of an eminence near Rugar and commanding Mau would reduce the besieged to straitened circumstances, the question was referred to the Emperor (then at Lahore). He issued orders that Sa'id Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang should hasten in that direction and that, from the army at Nurpur, Nijabat Khan, Nazar Bahadur Kheshagi, Akbar Quli Sultan Gakhar, and Raja Man Gwaliari (Guleria) should accompany him. Najabat Khan was appointed to the vanguard."

"On receiving these orders Sa'id Khan started on the 15th Shaban (9th November, 1641) from the foot of the Nurpur hill, blocked up the Rugar path near Mau and sent his two sons, Sa'dullah and Abdullah, with a number of his own followers, to ascend on the right, and Zul-Fiqar Khan with matchlockmen on the left, in order to fix a site for the camp. On reaching the summit, they found that an encampment could be arranged only by cutting down the trees, and they sent a message to this effect to Sa'id Khan and awaited his orders. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the enemy,

to the number of four or five thousand, came down from a neighbouring hill and attacked them. Sa'id Khan, hearing of this, at once despatched his son, Lutf Ullah, with reinforcements; and after him, Shaikh Farid and Sarandaz Khan with more auxiliaries. Before reaching his brothers, Lutf Ullah was attacked by a body of rebels concealed in the forest, and received a sword wound in the right shoulder and a spear wound in the left arm. As they were about to disable his horse he was rescued by Khawaja Abdur Rahman, son of Abdul Aziz Khan Naqashbandi, and carried off the field. Zul-Fiqar Khan and his comrades drove off the enemy and then retreated to Sa'id Khan, and soon after Sa'dullah and Abdullah also returned. Next day Sa'id Khan reached Rupar and began to clear the jungle for a large camp, which he fortified with a ditch and a thorn fence to guard against night attacks. The enemy then gathered in large numbers, in order to obstruct the path leading to the eminence commanding Maukot. For this purpose they erected strong fences and bastions. Sa'id Khan, therefore, resolved to clear the jungle by degrees and advance slowly. On the 21st of Shaban, Najabat Khan with the vanguard reached an eminence commanding the stockade erected by the rebels near Raja Basu's garden, which was attacked on one side by Zul-Fiqar Khan and the Imperial artillery, and on the other by Nazar Bahadur Kheshagi, Shaikh Farid, Akbar Quli Sultan Gakhar, Sarandaz Khan and Raja Man.¹ A number of men of Najabat Khan's and Raja Man's forces, putting planks on their heads, instead of shields, ran forward and raised a wall of wood and planks opposite to the stockade, and showered bullets on the enemy. Many on both sides were killed and wounded."

"On the night of the 29th Shaban (22nd-23rd November) Raja Man sent about a hundred footmen of his contingent to capture the fort of Chhat. On arriving at the fort they killed and wounded a considerable number of the enemy who had come out to engage them, including the commander of the fort, who with several of his relatives was slain. A small garrison was left in the fort and the remainder returned to the army."

"On the same date a bastion of the Nurpur Fort was blown up. This happened as follows: Zulf-i-A'hunzan and Aqa Hasan Rumi had dug seven mines towards the sides of the fort, but the besieged discovered six of these mines and

¹ Raja Man-Singh of Guler.

flooded them. The seventh mine, which started from the trenches of Sayyid Khan Jahan's troops, had been carried forward towards the base of the tower, only two or three yards remaining to be dug. But Sayyid Khan Jahan's son and his men, fearing that this mine also would be discovered, and thinking it sufficiently near the tower, filled it with powder and sent word to Khan Jahan that the mine was ready. The Khan then ordered all the men of the neighbouring trenches to be ready for the assault, which was to be made by scaling ladders through the breach, and then directed the mine to be fired. This was done in the early part of the Asr, or third prayer (that is, after 4 P.M.), but owing to the mine being incomplete only one side of the bastion was blown up, and the other sunk in the ground."

"But the besieged had cunningly built a wall behind each tower, joined at each end to the main wall of the fort, with a passage at the top leading into the bastion. This wall was uninjured and so there was no way into the fort. Seeing this, Sayyid Lutf'Ali and Jalal-ud-din Mahmud, who had hurried forward with the assaulting party, called for pioneers to pull down the wall. The besieged, imagining that a breach had been made, retreated to the inner fort, but, soon discovering the true state of matters, they returned in force and began to shower down arrows and bullets from the wall on the besiegers. Some of the latter tasted the *sharbat* of martyrdom, and a few beautified the cheeks of valour with the cosmetic of wounds, among the latter being Sayyid Lutf'Ali, who received a bullet wound in his hand. As night was now drawing on and all the efforts of the assailants to pull down the wall had failed, they had to retire."

"In the end of Shaban, Bahadur Khan, acting under the orders of the Emperor, moved from Islampur¹ and joined the Prince at Paithan. His army on being mustered for review, was found to number nearly three thousand horse and as many foot."

"On the last day of the same month, Damtal was taken by Bahadur Khan and Tihari by Allah Virdi Khan. The Emperor also sent an order that Asalat Khan should hasten to Nurpur and take part in the siege, and Sayyid Khan Jahan, Rustam Khan, and others, with Bahadur Khan, who led the *harawal* or vanguard, should proceed to the fort of Mau by way of Gangthal, and try to take it. If Mau were captured,

¹ A place in Bandhelkhand,

Nurpur would soon follow. It was also ordered that the Prince should leave Rao Amar-Singh and Mirza Hassan Safavi at Paithan and go to Mau, camping on the eminence which had formerly been occupied by Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang, and should use every effort to take the fort."

"In compliance with these orders the Prince on the 1st of Ramzan (24th November) set out from Paithan for Mau. Jagat-Singh, hearing of the arrival of these armies and of the Prince himself, became afraid, and through the medium of Allah Virdi Khan sent the following message, requesting that his son Rajrup might be received in audience: 'I am much abashed and ashamed at my rebellious conduct which was caused by loss of understanding and drowsiness of fortune. As, owing to the hatred of rivalry, some of the servants of the exalted court had nothing in view but the destruction of my nation and family, and the ruin of my life and property, I was unwilling to fall an easy victim; hence according to my ability, I did everything in the way of exertion and effort, to display my spirit as a Rajput and my sense of honour as a soldier. Now that the light of the eye of royalty (Prince Murad Bakhsh) had been entrusted with the task of bringing this war to an end, I see no remedy but to traverse the path of obedience to this awe-inspiring government. I hope therefore that you will release me, an ashamed criminal, from terror, and permit me to see you.' An interview was granted under a safe-conduct, and on 5th Ramzan (28th November) Rajrup came to the Prince as a penitent criminal without arms and a *fautah* (waist band) round his neck."

"The Prince promised to intercede with the Emperor, and accordingly a petition was submitted containing Jagat-Singh's requests. As these were not acceptable and an unconditional surrender was demanded, Rajrup was sent back to Mau, and the siege was resumed. Sayyid Khan Jahan and Bahadur Khan with their forces were now sent by way of Gangthal to Mau. They were daily engaged in clearing the jungle and opening up a road and driving the enemy before them. But their advance was slow, as many barricades in the way had to be destroyed. When they came close to Mau, Jagat-Singh advanced to oppose them and kept up the fight for five consecutive days, with the help of his family, clansmen and other people of the hills. Sayyid Khan Jahan, Bahadur Khan, and the other officers with their men paid no attention to the bullets and poisoned arrows of the enemy, and

even used the heaps of the slain as scaling ladders to reach the barricades. In these five days nearly 700 of Khan Jahan's men and as many belonging to the other commands were killed or wounded; while crowds of the enemy were 'sent to hell.' All the officers exerted themselves gallantly, but those deserving of special mention were Sayyid Khan Jahan and Bahadur Khan and Rustam Khan."

"As the war was making slow progress, His Majesty issued an order, that as Sayyid Khan Jahan and Bahadur Khan had attacked the fort and advanced like a flood as far as the foot of Mau, so, the other divisions should also exert themselves in a similar manner, and entering the jungle, by force, advance on their side and storm the fort. When the Imperial commands reached him the Prince (Murad Bakhsh) proceeded to put them into execution."

"On the morning of the 20th Ramzan (13th December) he went up the eminence commanding most of the entrenchments and ordered the leaders of the Imperial forces with their *Bakhshis* (paymasters) to make an assault. At the same time an order was sent to Sayyid Khan Jahan and Sa'id Khan that they too should advance from their side and storm the fort. Sa'id Khan delayed, but Sayyid Khan Jahan, being a man of energy, acted promptly and made brave exertions. His companions, Rustam Khan, Bahadur Khan and others displayed their valour by conspicuous deeds. They on one side and Raja Jai-Singh, Qilij Khan and Allah Viridi Khan on the other, had firmly resolved to capture the fort, and they gave their whole attention to it."

"Raja Jai-Singh and Allah Viridi Khan went by the way of the pass, while Qilij Khan moved to the left, and others to the right, and entering the jungle succeeded in reaching the summit of the hill. During the five days of continuous fighting Sayyid Khan Jahan and Bahadur Khan had reduced the enemy to great straits, and Jagat-Singh's army had become so weakened, that he had to call in some of the troops which he had posted in certain places to resist the advance of the imperialists. For this reason, Raja Jai-Singh, Qilij Khan, Allah Viridi Khan and the others, being near the fort, and finding the way into it easy, owing to the smallness of the force opposed to them, reached the fort before the arrival of Sayyid Khan Jahan and Bahadur Khan. Jagat-Singh had before this sent away his family and property to Taragarh, and was alone at Mau. And now seeing the superiority of

the Imperial forces he took his sons and dependants who had escaped the sword and fled."

"Two days later, 15th December, 1641, Asalat Khan reported to the Prince that the defenders of Nurpur Fort, on hearing of the fall of Mau, had at midnight evacuated the fort and escaped."

"When the news of these events reached the Emperor he promoted Sayyid Khan Jahan and Raja Jai-Singh by 1,000 each. The former reached the *mansab* (rank) of 6,000, with the actual command of 6,000, with two and three horses apiece. The latter attained to the *mansab* of 5,000, with the actual command of 5,000 horsemen, with two and three horses apiece. Bahadur Khan also received an increase of 1,000 in rank, making his *mansab* 5,000 with the actual command of 4,000 horsemen, with two and three horses apiece. Raja Man-Singh Gwaliari (Guleria), who had rendered distinguished service in the expedition, received a *khilat* (dress of honour), an inlaid dagger, a horse, and an elephant. In short, to every one who had taken part in the campaign the Emperor showed special favour."

"On the 23rd Ramzan (16th December, 1641) the Prince by the Emperor's orders sent Prithi Chand,¹ Zamindar of Champa, whose father had been killed by Jagat-Singh, and who was at this time enrolled among the royal servants on the recommendation of the ministers of the State, to the royal threshold, along with Allah Virdi Khan and Mir Buzurg who had gone to bring him. The charge of Mau Fort was given to Raja Jai-Singh, that of Tihari to Qilij Khan, that of Damtal to Gokal Das Sisodia, and of Paithan to Mirza Hasan Safavi; a number of other Imperial servants with diggers and axemen were told off to cut down the jungle around Mau and widen the roads in the vicinity, and in other places."

"Then the Prince in obedience to orders took with him Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan and returned to Court. He had an audience of the Emperor on 29th Ramzan A.H. 1051=22nd December, 1641, and presented a *nazar* of 1,000 gold coins. On the 1st Shawwal (December 23rd, 1641) Prince Murad Bakhsh received a splendid *khilat* from the Emperor's wardrobe and a *nadiri* (kind of cloth), two horses from the royal stables, one with an enamelled golden and the other with a plain golden saddle, and two lakhs of rupees in cash. He was then dismissed with orders to bring in Jagat-Singh

¹ Prithvi-Singh of Chamba,—*vide Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 90-93,

alive or dead, and to clear the hills by extirpating the root and cutting down the branch of that thorn-bush of sedition. Prithi-Chand, the Zamindar of Champa, was honoured with a *khilat*, an inlaid dagger, the title of commander of 1,000 and with the actual command of 400 horsemen, the title of Raja, and a horse. As the mountain on which Jagat-Singh had built the fort of Taragarh was in Champa, and had been taken by force; and as the back of the fort was contiguous to the above-mentioned territory, and had in that direction an eminence commanding it, the possession of which was essential to its capture, he was ordered to go home and collect his forces so as to seize the eminence and reduce the besieged to straitened circumstances."

"On the 5th Shawwal (27th December, 1641) the Prince, along with Khan Jahan and other officers, reached Nurpur and encamped there. According to orders he sent Sa'id Khan and his sons to Jammu, and Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan, with nearly 12,000 men, to lay siege to Taragarh. He also ordered Raja Man-Singh,¹ the mortal enemy of Jagat-Singh, to join Prithi-Chand with his forces, and both together to take up a position on a hill at the back of Taragarh."

"In spite of the height and impregnability of this fortress, the difficulty of the roads and the impossibility of entry and exit, all of which were such that the wisest would not undertake its reduction, yet the royal army, relying on God's aid and the Emperor's good fortune, bound up their loins firmly for the enterprise. The garrison on their part strengthened their defences and began to shower arrows and bullets on the troops in their passage. Some were sent to the fires of hell by the swords of the Ghazis, while on the other side, a few obtained the high dignity of martyrdom. Among these was Khusru Beg, the *Bakhshi* (paymaster) of Yamin-ud-Daula, and Asaf Khan, Khan-i-Khanan who by the Emperor's orders had been sent with 1,000 horsemen to serve under the Prince. After Yamin-ud-Daula's death the Emperor raised Khusru Beg to an important rank, as he was brave and energetic and a native of Gurjistan (Georgia). The account of his martyrdom is as follows:—'On the 14th Shawwal, Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan sent him on ahead with a force to acquire a knowledge of the country and fix a site for the camp, so that the army might advance next morning. The force broke up and each

¹ Raja Man-Singh of Guler,

section took a separate direction. Seeing this the commanders sent a messenger to tell them to return, and on no account to go further. The others came back but Khusru Beg sent an answer that he could pass the night where he was. As he had only 300 or 400 men with him the leaders again sent an order to return. He started on his way back to the main army, but meanwhile the rebels had observed the smallness of his force and fell upon him. He held his ground and showed prodigies of valour, but after receiving fourteen wounds he attained to the dignity of martyrdom. About 100 of his men were also slain.'"

"As Bahadur Khan, Asalat Khan and others on one side, and Raja Prithi-Chand, Zamindar of Champa, and Raja Man-Singh Gwaliari, with their forces from the rear, had assaulted the fort and were determined to take it, Jagat-Singh began to abandon his pride and feel ashamed. He began to reflect that although the capture of such a fortress was a difficult matter, yet to place reliance on a strong fortress and rebel against a patron who enjoyed the divine favour, was simply to deliver himself up to destruction. After all his territory had been occupied how was it possible for him to hold out longer. Forced by these reflections he resolved to make his submission and cast himself on the Emperor's clemency. He therefore made a communication to Khan Jahan, and at his request the Prince held out hopes of pardon. As Jagat-Singh knew that the servants of the dynasty were men of honour who never violated a covenant, he petitioned the Prince to obtain for him the pardon of his crimes and an order for the security of his life."

"The Emperor, on hearing of the surrender, replied that as that misguided man now professed contrition for his offences and asked for pardon, this was accorded to him. But he must not act in the same way again, or he would be expelled from his territory. Taragarh must be evacuated and razed to the ground. Jagat-Singh accepted these terms. The Prince, however, obtained an order that some of the houses in Taragarh might be left standing, for the use of Jagat-Singh's family, and for his goods. The rest of the houses as well as the three forts were to be destroyed. The Fort of Mau which was only a walled enclosure with trees around it, and the fort of Nurpur were also to be demolished as a warning to other Zamindars."

"On receiving this order Jagat-Singh submissively sent word to Sayyid Khan Jahan to come in person and destroy the forts of Taragarh. Sayyid Khan Jahan came to the fort and stayed two days. He appointed a body of men to demolish the enclosing wall and left his son-in-law, Sayyid Firoz, and his troops, with orders to throw down the *Sherhaji*¹ and the defences, and level them with the ground. He then returned to the Prince (at Nurpur), taking Jagat-Singh with him, on the 19th Zul-Hijjah = 11th March, 1642, and by the Emperor's orders the government of the hill country was entrusted to Najabat Khan."²

"The great gateway of Nurpur had ravines on three sides and was inaccessible on these sides. Jagat-Singh had erected a strong wall here, and several yards in front of it he had made a *Sherhaji*¹ (out-work) with bastions and curtains. The Emperor ordered that the Prince should leave Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan behind at Nurpur, to destroy the said wall and out-work down to the ground. The dwelling houses were to be left as they were. The Prince himself was directed to come to court with Sayyid Khan Jahan and the remaining officers, and to bring with him Jagat-Singh and his sons."

"On the 25th Zul-Hijjah (17th March, 1642) Prince Murad Bakhsh, Sayyid Khan Jahan, Raja Jai-Singh, Rustam Khan, Rao Amar-Singh, Raja Rai-Singh, Mirza Hasan Safavi, Nazar Bahadur Kheshagi, and other nobles and officers accompanying the Prince, were received in audience by the Emperor. The Prince presented 1,000 gold coins. He then brought in Jagat-Singh and his two sons with their *fautah* (waist-bands) round their necks, and they prostrated themselves in all humility. The Emperor overlooked their offences. The Prince received a *khilat* and his *mansab* was raised from 10,000 personal and 8,000 horse to 12,000 personal and 8,000 horse; 2,000 of them to be two-horsed and three-horsed."

On 10th April, 1642, Jagat-Singh and his sons were restored to their former rank and reinstated in all their possessions, with a generosity of feeling which would hardly be practised in these later times. Rebellion was then more common and less thought of than now, and the Mughal Emperor knew how to be generous to a brave soldier, whose services he valued.

¹ *Sherhaji*. The earth from the ditch thrown up on the inner side to a considerable height so as to form a protection for the foot of the wall in place of a ditch.

² The surrender of Taragarh took place on 11th March and Jagat-Singh and his sons appeared before the Emperor on 17th March, 1642.

On November 23rd, A.D. 1642,¹ Prince Dara Shikoh was ordered by the Emperor to visit Nurpur, Taragarh and other places in the hills which had belonged to Jagat-Singh, and inspect the forts and buildings. He was to rejoin the Imperial camp at Gamo-Wahan. Qilij Khan, Asalat Khan, Jansipar Khan and several other officers were to accompany him. On the 28th November the Prince rejoined the camp and reported to the Emperor what he had seen of the difficulties of the routes and the great strength of Taragarh. Najabat Khan was appointed Faujdar of the hill country of Kangra.

Maukot, as already stated, was completely demolished, and we hear no more of it in the history of the State. Nurpur and Taragarh cannot have been much damaged or they were afterwards repaired and restored. Taragarh was garrisoned by Imperial troops either before or soon after the death of Jagat-Singh, and on its evacuation by the Mughals it probably reverted to Chamba. Both Nurpur and Taragarh continued in use till after the Mutiny, when the former was dismantled by order of Government. Taragarh was held by State troops till 1863-64, and was not finally dismantled till 1872.

Having given in his submission and been restored to favour,² Jagat-Singh was in the course of the same year (A.D. 1642) again given a military command and was placed under the orders of Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of the Emperor, with whom he marched to Qandahar. There he was appointed commandant of Fort Qalat within the Qandahar Province. Two years later (A.D. 1644), when Sa'id Khan was made governor of Qandahar, Jagat-Singh was transferred from Qalat, as he and Sa'id Khan were not on friendly terms.

In A.D. 1645³ he was presented by the Emperor with a *khilat*, a sword with gold enamelled mountings, and a horse with silver-mounted saddle, and was appointed to reinforce the Amir-ul-Umara (Ali Mardan Khan) in his expedition for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan. It seems to have been at his own request that he was sent on this duty, and so eager was he to be of service that he raised more men than were required by the *mansab* he held, and gratified them by fixing their pay in cash. He then represented the matter to the Emperor, stating that he had summoned numbers of horsemen and infantry from his own country, and he prayed that support might be granted from Imperial funds for the number

¹ *Badshahnamah*, II, page 318.

² *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, page 230-f.

³ *Badshahnamah*, II, page 463.

recruited in excess. His requests were supported by the Amir-ul-Umara and were granted, and an order was issued on the treasury at Kabul for the pay of the troops.

Having completed his preparations at Kabul, Jagat-Singh took leave of the Amir-ul-Umara, and, accompanied by his younger son, Bhau-Singh, he advanced by the pass of Tul into Badakhshan. He then divided his force into two sections, one under his son he sent ahead as an advanced guard, the other he kept under his own command with the intention of attacking Khost. The following extract is from the *Badshah-namah* :—

“ When the leading men and chief inhabitants of Khost became aware of his purpose, they sent several deputations to him to express their peaceful intentions and feelings of loyalty. They said that if he built a strong fort and garrisoned it, he would be able to control them if they were guilty of any disaffection. As the Raja's only object was to obtain their submission and to introduce order into the country, he agreed to their suggestion, and gave them a promise of Imperial favour. They then pointed out a site for the fort between Sarab and Andarab, saying that if it was built there, he would control both places as well as Khost.”

“ Next day the Raja marched on towards Sarab, taking the Khost deputations with him. The leaders and representatives of Sarab appeared and were reassured, and they then professed themselves obedient subjects and well-wishers of the Empire. Snow having fallen, there was a halt of three days, and on the fourth day they set out in the direction of Andarab. Half way between Sarab and Andarab a strong wooden fort was erected, wood being plentiful in that country. The bastions were built of stone and in the interior two great wells were dug.”

“ Just then Kafsh Qalmaq and his men arrived, having been sent by Nazar Muhammad Khan, ruler of Balkh, to surround the Raja's force. Kafsh had divided his force into three sections, two of cavalry and one of infantry. When the scouts brought word of this to the Raja, he made a sally from the fort with his army, also in three sections. On both sides of the exit from the narrow valley, the only route by which the enemy could enter, he placed great timbers across the road, and fixed them in such a manner that it was difficult for a horseman to get through. Behind these obstacles he posted

matchlockmen on foot and bowmen. On one side was posted his own force, and on the other that of Bhau-Singh, his son. A third section of matchlockmen was sent off to repel the Hazarah infantry who had taken up their position on a hill."

"When the Uzbaks arrived from three directions, the Raja and his son attacked them from two directions at once with arms and musketry. The Uzbek fighting men could not stand up against the valiant Hindustanis, and took to flight. The Raja's matchlockmen on the top of the hill also fired on the Uzbek infantry, took their fort and drove them down the hill."

"The Uzbaks then confronted the Raja at a spot where the bullets could not reach them and made a bold stand. The Raja recalled to his own standard the two sections of horse and infantry, and led the whole force in a charge on the enemy, many of whom were killed and more wounded. On the Raja's side also many offered up their lives for their sovereign. After this the Uzbaks made up their mind that further contest with such brave men was without profit, and retreated to their homes. The Raja reported this fighting to the Amir-ul-Umara and asked for reinforcements to garrison the fort, and also a supply of powder and lead. The Amir-ul-Umara sent the lead and gunpowder in charge of Rajrup, the Raja's elder son. He also despatched 4,000 horsemen from the extra forces at Kabul and from the men in his own service, under the command of Zilqadar Khan, Ali Beg, Ishaq Beg and Faridun, his own slave."

"On the 23rd Ramzan (November 12th, 1645), during the night, about 2,000 Uzbek horse and Hazarah infantry, under Kafsh Qalmaq, fell on the men left by the Raja to guard the exit from the valley; some were killed on both sides, but once more under a thousand difficulties and dangers the Uzbaks were forced to retreat."

"The Raja having made the wooden fort secure and stocked it with food and other requisites for standing a siege, placed it in charge of several trusty Rajputs in his own employ, at the head of 500 matchlockmen and 400 Rajputs. The Raja then left on the 25th Ramzan (November 14th, 1645) for Panjshir, *viâ* the Parindah pass. On the way the deep snow, wind and snow-storms caused the loss of many men and horses. Owing to the quantity of snow the troops were unable to get through the pass; as there was no alternative, they halted and passed the night in the greatest distress.

At day-break they retraced their steps to a place where fire-wood was plentiful and there encamped.

“At this point Faridun (and probably Rajrup) joined the Raja, having advanced more rapidly than the other reinforcements sent by the Amir-ul-Umara. The Uzbaks, ever on the watch for an opportunity, had heard that the pass was blocked and that the Raja had retreated. They, therefore, collected with the intention of opposing him. The Raja took up his position in the centre, placing his son, Rajrup, and Faridun at the head of the vanguard. After much fighting many Uzbaks were laid low by the swords and spears of the imperialists. On the Raja's side, too, many fell, more especially among the Rajputs serving under himself. The enemy could not withstand the onslaught and took to flight, and were pursued for one or two *kos*. The Uzbaks fearing that the garrison of the fort might bar their way and attack them in the rear and slay many, climbed the hills and escaped to their homes.”

“For that day the Raja encamped at the foot of the fort and the following day took the route through Tul and pitched his camp at the foot of the pass. At daybreak he entered the snow-covered hills, where the snow-fall had diminished, and reached the frontier of Panjshir.” On his retirement he left Rajrup, his elder son, in charge of the fort. Bhau-Singh, his younger son, most likely accompanied him.

The expedition of Jagat-Singh against the Uzbeks has received special mention from Elphinstone, the historian. He was under the impression that the Raja of Kotah was referred to, but contemporaneous history and local tradition in the hills leave no doubt that Jagat-Singh of Nurpur was the hero of the campaign. The reference is as follows: “Next year the enterprise (conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan) was attempted by Raja Jagat-Singh, whose chief strength lay in a body of 14,000 Rajputs, raised in his own country and paid by the Emperor. The spirit of the Rajputs never shone more brilliantly than in this unusual duty. They stormed mountain passes, made forced marches over snow, constructed redoubts by their own labour, the Raja himself taking an axe like the rest, and bore up against the tempests of that frozen region as firmly as against the fierce and repeated attacks of the Uzbaks.”¹

¹ Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1857, page 511.

Jagat--Singh was then well advanced in years, and the hardships and exposure of such a campaign must have told severely on a frame already enfeebled by age. He reached Peshawar on his return journey but died there soon afterwards, in January A.D. 1646.¹

Under Jagat-Singh the Nurpur State reached the zenith of its prosperity, and his name is still a household word in the hills. He was in many respects a remarkable man, and his warlike exploits find honourable mention in the records of the time, and are still commemorated in song by the hill bards. They form the subject of a poem, *The Rhapsodies of Gambhir Rai*—the Nurpur bard (A.D. 1650), written a few years after his death. His strong personality commended him to the favour of the Mughal Emperors, and he is said to have possessed great influence with Nur Jahan Begam, whom he addressed as 'Beti' (daughter). His failings were characteristic of the age in which he lived and were not peculiar to India. Many popular rhymes about him are still current in the hills, of which we subjoin the following as an example :—

*Jagata Raja, bhagata Raja, Bas Dev ka jaya,
Sindhu mare, sagar mare, Himachal dera paya,
Akas ko arba kita, tan Jagata kahaya,*

“Jagata Raja, the devotee Raja, son of Bas-Dev. He conquered the country beyond the Indus, he pitched his camp on the snow mountains, and pointed his guns towards heaven ; therefore was he called Jagata.”

The Rhapsodies of Gambhir Rai,² already referred to, consist of short stanzas, which are sung by the bards at feasts and festivals, and tell of the historical events with which the hero of the song was connected and of his warlike exploits.

The following extract will show the character of the Rhapsodies :—

“Jagat-Singh fought many battles in the world.³ He took Makhyala and placed a king there. This event became known throughout the world. He was displeased with the Shah, and sitting at Mau, shook the whole world, but was not shaken himself. Hearing it the people of Saraj were terrified,

¹ *Badshahnamah*, II, page 481.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Volume XLIV, 1875, pages 192, 212.

³ *Archaeological Survey Report*, 1904-05, pages 113-114.

and the inhabitants of Samargand mortified. The fame of the Lord of Delhi spread throughout the world. The residents of Balkh and Bukhara did not wink even in the night for fear. The soldiers had apprehensions of all sorts. Gambhir Rai says : May the son of Raja Vasudeva rule the world as long as there is a jewel in the head of Sesa. In no time he took Qandahar and conquered Khurasan, and this news of the victory of Raja Jagata spread everywhere." Half of the songs were composed by Raja Mandhata, grandson of Jagat-Singh. The Rhapsodies, which are of considerable philological and historical interest, were partly edited by the late Mr. J. Beames, I.C.S., in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

Rajrup-Singh, A.D. 1646-1661.¹—On hearing of Jagat-Singh's death Shahjahan at once despatched a *khilat* to Rajrup, and advanced his *mansab* to 1,500 personal and 1,000 horse. He also received the title of Raja and was reappointed to the command of the fort, which had been entrusted to him by his father. Orders were at the same time given to pay from the Kabul treasury the charges of 500 horse and 2,000 foot, being the reinforcements already referred to as having been sent to Jagat-Singh.

Meanwhile Prince Murad Bakhsh had been sent with a large army to complete the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan, and Rajrup was given a command under him. On reaching Qandahar (probably a place in Balkh) he was appointed along with others to the charge of the garrison, and to enable him to discharge his duties he received two lakhs of rupees. His rank was also increased to 2,000 personal and 1,500 horse, with a gift of a jewelled dagger and a pearl *goshwara* (ear-ring). He was frequently engaged during the campaign in skirmishing and fighting with the Uzbeks and Almans, and was successful in defeating them.

In A.D. 1647,² Rajrup received a further addition to his rank, raising it to 2,000 personal and horse, and he was also granted kettle-drums. Soon afterwards he came from his post to Talagun to visit Qilij Khan, and found that the Almans had gathered in great force and surrounded the place. One day he bravely attacked them, and there was a stiff encounter in which several of his men were killed and he himself was wounded in three places. In the end the enemy

¹ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, 277.

² *Ibid.*, page 277-f.

lost heart and fled. In the 22nd year of Shahjahan (A.D. 1649) Rajrup reached the *mansab* of 2,500 personal and horse and was appointed to replace Khalil Beg as commander of Kahmard Fort. In the 25th year (A.D. 1652), he received an additional 500 to his rank and was sent with Prince Aurangzeb, who had been placed by the Emperor in command of a large army, for the recovery of Qandahar, which had been retaken by the Persians in A.D. 1648. In A.D. 1649 an army under Aurangzeb had failed to recover it, and the second attempt under the same commander, in A.D. 1652, was equally unsuccessful. On that occasion Rajrup was in charge of an entrenched battery and displayed great valour. On the siege being raised he was sent to join Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh, at Kabul. In A.D. 1653, Shahjahan determined on making another attempt to recapture Qandahar, and a still greater army was put under the command of Dara Shikoh, to which Rajrup was attached. But all was in vain, and when the army was compelled to retreat Rajrup returned to his post at Kahmard. There he probably remained for the next three years, and in A.D. 1656 he received an order recalling him to court, after which he proceeded to Nurpur. He seems to have been absent from his State for more than ten years. He probably remained in Nurpur for a year, and there is a reference to him in a *farman*, issued by Dara Shikoh to Raja Jagat-Singh of Kulu, which must belong to this period.¹ On the death of the Raja of Lag in Kulu (the country around Sultanpur), Jagat-Singh had seized the territory and imprisoned the Raja's grandson and other relatives. An appeal was made to the Emperor and a *farman* was sent to Jagat-Singh (of Kulu), with the threat that if from obstinacy and imprudence he deferred releasing Jog-Chand's grandson and giving up the district, an order would be sent to Raja Rajrup, Jahangir Quli Beg, and the Faujdar of Jammu, that they should go up to the districts of his *Zamindari* and annihilate him. Jagat-Singh seems to have paid no attention to the *farman*. It reached him on the eve of the outbreak of civil war, and he doubtless felt safe in disregarding it.

In A.D. 1657,² the serious illness of Shahjahan precipitated a conflict among his four sons, which ended in the deposition of the Emperor and the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne.

¹ *Archæological Survey Report*, 1907-08, pages 260-276.

² *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, page 278. Elphinstone, *History*, page 517-f.

Dara Shikoh was the eldest and had been recognized by his father as heir-apparent. Shuja was Viceroy of Bengal, Aurangzeb of the Dakhan and Murad Bakhsh of Guzerat.¹ The two latter combined against Dara Shikoh and advanced towards Agra with a large army. Dara's elder son, Sulaiman Shikoh, had meanwhile gone to oppose Shuja who was also on the march towards Agra, and without waiting for his return, Dara confronted his other two brothers at Samugarh, one march from Agra, and was totally defeated. He then fled towards Delhi and Lahore, and was met near Sirhind by Rajrup-Singh, who had been recalled to court before the outbreak of the civil war. Rajrup attached himself to Dara and proceeded with him to Lahore, and a pathetic story, not very creditable to Rajrup, is related by Manucci, of the means adopted by the Prince to bind the Nurpur Chief to his cause. The quotation is as follows :¹—"While these preparations were going on there came Raja Sarup Singh (Raja Rajrup-Singh) who had been sent for by Dara. He brought four thousand horse and ten thousand infantry. The territory of this Raja adjoins the mountains in the kingdom of Kashmir, and he has an army of fifteen thousand cavalry and three hundred thousand infantry, all of whom are Rajputs. Dara with great entreaty had begged him to be so good as to do him the favour of coming at this time to join him with all his men. He would never forget it when the time came to reward and recompense him. To gain him more securely to his side he (Dara) allowed his wife to send for the Raja to her harem, where with soft words the princess once more begged for his aid, and gave him many presents, the chief being a string of 211 pearls of great value that she threw over his neck. She addressed him as her son, and said she looked on him as in the place of her son, Sulaiman Shikoh. Then she did a thing never done before in the Mughal's Empire, that is to say, she offered him water to drink with which she had washed her breasts, not having milk in them, as a confirmation of her words. He drank with the greatest acceptance and swore he would be ever true, and never fail in the duties of a son. But he needed some money for expenses so as to enlist all the men he could, in addition to those he had already brought."

"Dara believed in him and at once ordered them to give him ten lakhs of rupees. He left for his own country,

¹ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, trans., W. Irvine, Volume I, page 310. *A Pepys of Mogul India*, pages 50-ff.

promising to return very soon, equipped in every way. When Aurangzeb learnt what the Raja had done, he wrote him a letter which sufficed to make him disappoint Dara. The latter being informed that Aurangzeb was marching onwards, wrote letter after letter to Rajrup-Singh, urging him to come and make no more delay, for the time when his aid was wanted was now drawing near. But he never answered and remained in his own country with the money he had received, and the poor Prince beheld the hopes that he had in this man disappear."

Rajrup's conduct,¹ bad as it was, compares favourably with that of some others, Hindu and Muhammadan, who forsook Dara in his hour of need, and we must not judge him too harshly. Soon afterwards he started for Delhi, and on the banks of the Bias met Khalil Ullah Khan, who had been sent in pursuit of Dara, by whom he was presented to Aurangzeb. His rank was then increased to 3,500 personal and horse. Rajrup was then sent to take charge of the armed post of Chandi in Garhwal, in order to intercept Sulaiman Shikoh, who had found an asylum with the ruler of that State. After inflicting a defeat on his uncle, Shuja, in Bengal, Sulaiman Shikoh had retraced his steps towards Agra, but was too late to take part in the battle of Samugarh.² Finding his way of escape northward closed against him, he tried to reach the Panjab through the outer hills, in order to rejoin his father. This project was frustrated by Aurangzeb, who sent out detachments into the hills in the direction of Hardwar to intercept him, and Rajrup was placed in command of one of these detachments. The Prince was thus compelled to seek refuge with the Raja of Garhwal, who refused to give him up, though treating him as a prisoner, and there he remained from July A.D. 1658 to the end of 1660.

Meanwhile Dara Shikoh³ had continued his flight to Multan and Guzerat. Gathering an army at Ahmadabad he advanced towards Ajmer, where in the spring of 1659 he took up and fortified a commanding position on the hills near that town, called Kokila Pahari in the *Alamgirnamah*. Aurangzeb marched from Agra to oppose him, and Rajrup, who had been recalled from Garhwal, held a command in the *farah* or skirmishers, on the right wing of the vanguard.

¹ *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, page 278.

² Bernier, *Travels*, trans., 1891, page 58.

³ *Alamgirnamah*, pages 190-199. The site of the battle is near Beawar about 6 miles south-west of Ajmer, where numerous graves still remain, and is called *Shahani Magri*, "the king's hillock."

On approaching Dara's position, Rajrup brought up his infantry, who were adapted to hill warfare, in the rear of Kokila Pahari, with his cavalry in support; he was also aided by other imperialists. Seeing how few the assailants were, the force on the hill rushed down from their entrenched position to attack them, and the conflict raged for nine hours. The entrenchments were still intact when Dara Shikoh's courage failed him and he took to flight. As is known, he was afterwards betrayed into Aurangzeb's hands, taken to Delhi and put to death as an apostate from Islam. His younger son, Sepohr Shikoh, who was captured with him, was sent to Gwalior Fort, then the State prison. The capture of Sulaiman Shikoh next engaged Aurangzeb's attention and in this also Rajrup was assigned a part. The *Alamgirnamah* has the following: "In the 2nd year of Alamgir (A.D. 1659), Rajrup was sent at the head of a force into the hill country of Garhwal to coerce Prithvi-Pal, the Raja of that country, who had declined to surrender Sulaiman Shikoh. He was ordered to ravage the country if the Raja refused to comply with the Imperial commands. As Prithvi-Pal was obstinate, other officers also were deputed on the same duty, and they reduced him to extremities. Finding no other alternative he addressed himself to the Mirza Raja (Jai-Singh of Jaipur) and betrayed Sulaiman Shikoh into his hands as a means of securing his own pardon."¹ Sulaiman Shikoh was sent to Delhi in January 1661, and after being identified in open darbar was imprisoned in Gwalior Fort, where he and his brother soon afterwards died, not without suspicion of foul play.²

Rajrup's last appointment was that of Thanadar of Ghazni, where he was sent in the 4th year of Alamgir (A.D. 1661), and there he died soon after his arrival. The record concludes as follows:—"Like his father he was not devoid of enterprise and valour, and possessed high courage in bearing up under fatigue and adverse circumstances."

Bhanu-Singh, younger son of Jagat-Singh, did good service in the campaign in Badakhshan, and after his father's death he still continued on service on the north-west frontier, and passed a long time in charge of the outpost at Ghorband,

¹ *Alamgirnamah*, pages 190-199.

² Sulaiman Shikoh tried to escape into Ladakh, but was pursued and brought back to Garhwal.

NOTE.—Khafi Khan states that the success at the beginning of the battle was due to Raja Rajrup.

west of Kabul. In A.D. 1650 he received from Shahjahan, as a fief, the portion of the Nurpur State between the Chakki and the Ravi, including the *talugas* of Shahpur, Palahi and Kandi; but not Pathankot, which had been annexed by Akbar in the reign of Raja Bas-Dev. The capital of the State was at Shahpur on the Ravi. In the 30th year of Alamgir (A.D. 1686) Bhau-Singh embraced Islam, receiving from the Emperor the name of Murid Khan, which became a surname in his family, every one who succeeded as Raja taking that name. This State was overturned by the Sikhs in 1781, and the descendants of the ruling family now reside at Sujanpur, near Madhopur, in the enjoyment of a pension.

Mandhata, A.D. 1661-1700.—Cunningham states that Rajrup died in A.H. 1077=A.D. 1666-67. In the *Alamgir-namah*, however, the date given is the 4th year (of Alamgir), A.H. 1072=A.D. 1661-62, which must be correct. On his decease his son, Mandhata, was recognised as Raja by the Emperor. The greater part of his reign was spent away from Nurpur, discharging the duties assigned him. Though less distinguished than his father and grandfather, Mandhata also held high offices under the Mughals, and in his father's lifetime was appointed to the charge of Bamian and Ghorband, on the western frontier of the Empire, and eight days' journey beyond the city of Kabul. Twenty years later he was again raised to the same position and his *mansab* was increased to 2,000 personal and horse. When not engaged in these duties he seems to have been much in attendance on the Emperor at court. Half of the *Rhapsodies* in praise of his grandfather were written by him. He was the last of the Pathania Rajas to hold office under the Mughal Emperors, or to receive distinctions from them.

Dayadhata, A.D. 1700-35.—Dayadhata had a long reign, but unfortunately no records have come down to us of the part played by Nurpur in the events of his time. He had four sons, named Prithvi-Singh, Indar-Singh, Mahan-Singh and Sundar-Singh, all by different *ramis*. The first two having been born at or about the same time, there was some uncertainty as to which of them should succeed to the *gaddi*. Indar-Singh, however, married a daughter of the Kangra Raja and settled in that State, becoming the ancestor of the Reh branch of the family, and Prithvi-Singh was recognized as heir-apparent, and became Raja on his father's demise.

Prithvi-Singh, A.D. 1735-89.—Prithvi-Singh's reign extended over a critical period in the history of the Panjab. The Mughal power was in the throes of dissolution, and in 1752 the Panjab was ceded to Ahmad Shah Durani by his namesake, the Emperor of Delhi. The hill country was included in the transfer, but in the case of the eastern group of Hill States the Durani rule was never more than nominal. Encouraged by the disorder on the plains the hill Chiefs all asserted their independence and seized by force the territory of which they had been deprived under Mughal rule, leaving nothing to the Duranis but a shadowy suzerainty. On the Maratha invasion of the Panjab in 1758, Adina Beg Khan was appointed Viceroy, and for a short time he brought the whole of the Hill States under his control. He, however, died in the same year and they again recovered their freedom. But it was not for long. About 1770 Jassa Singh Ramgarhia succeeded in making several of them tributary, probably including Kangra, Nurpur and Chamba. On his defeat in 1775 the supremacy passed to Jai-Singh Kanheya, who retained it till 1786. Unfortunately our records tell us nothing about the happenings in Nurpur during this eventful period, but its proximity to the plains must have laid the country open to frequent invasion. According to one account, Prithvi-Singh died in 1770 and was succeeded by his son, Fateh-Singh, but this is probably incorrect. According to the vernacular history Fateh-Singh predeceased his father, leaving a son, Bir-Singh, who succeeded Prithvi-Singh in 1789. Cunningham, on the other hand, gives Fateh-Singh a long reign, though he does not state his authority other than the Brahman, Devi Shah, already referred to. After Rajrup the chronology of the State is again very uncertain and the dates here given are only approximate.

An interesting reference to Nurpur is to be found in Forster's *Travels*.¹ He travelled in 1783 through the outer hills from Nahan to Jammu, *via* Nurpur and Basohli, in the disguise of a Muhammadan trader. He remarks that Nurpur then "enjoyed a state of more internal quiet, was less molested by the Sikhs and governed more equitably than any of the adjacent territories." The revenue was then about four lakhs of rupees and the State boundary extended to the Ravi. Unfortunately he does not mention the name of the ruling Chief or give us any further details. The reference to the

¹ Forster, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 218 and 233.

State boundary, however, is important. It will be remembered that the portion of the principality to the west of the Chakki river, and between it and the Ravi, was severed from the State in the time of Raja Rajrup; and erected into a separate chiefship in 1650 by Shahjahan, in favour of Bhau-Singh, younger son of Jagat-Singh, with the capital at Shahpur on the Ravi. Bhau-Singh's descendants continued to rule the State for four generations till 1781. On the demise of the last Raja, leaving two sons, minors, the Palahi and Kandi *talukas* were seized by two Sikh chieftains, Amar-Singh and Tara-Singh, under Jai-Singh Kanheya; and Shahpur *taluka*, including the country of the low hills as far as the Chamba border, was resumed by the Raja of Nurpur. The Gurdaspur Gazetteer states that the resumption was made by Raja Prithvi-Singh, and if so he must have had a long reign.

In 1786 another transfer of the supremacy over the Hill States took place, in consequence of the defeat of Jai-Singh Kanheya on the plains and his retirement from the hills.¹ Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra then acquired supreme power from the Satluj to the Ravi, which he wielded for twenty years. Nurpur along with all the other Hill States of the Kangra group then became tributary to him. But documents exist in Chamba, in the form of letters to the Chamba Rajas, which prove that down almost to the end of the eighteenth century the Amirs of Kabul also claimed a nominal suzerainty over the Hill States. About 1785 the small district of Kotla originally in Guler State, which had formed a part of the Nurpur State in 1618, was seized by Dhian-Singh, Wazir of Guler State, who made himself independent. Kotla had been attached to the Nurpur State for some time, down to the rebellion of Raja Suraj-Mal, when it seems to have been annexed by the Mughals and became a portion of the Imperial demesne of Kangra; the strong fort being garrisoned by Imperial troops. Whether or not it reverted to Nurpur, on the break-up of the Mughal power we cannot say, but this seems not improbable. Dhian-Singh continued to hold it till 1811, when it was captured by the Sikhs under Desa-Singh Majithia, the first Sikh governor of the hills.² Nurpur about the same time (1785)

¹ *Kangra Settlement Report*, page 10, and *J. P. H. S.*, Volume III, No. 2, pages 111-12.

² *Ibid.*, page 10.

NOTE.—Dhian-Singh received a *jagir* of double the value on the plains. Vigne states that Kotla and Rihlu were still held by the Mughals in 1783.

succeeded in acquiring from Basohli a portion of territory to the west of the Ravi, called Lakhanpur, which was regarded as Nurpur territory down to 1846-47. It was then transferred to Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu in exchange for Chamba Cis-Ravi, which had been ceded to him under the treaty of 16th March, 1846.¹

Bir-Singh, A.D. 1789-1846.—The date of Bir Singh's accession is uncertain. Cunningham gives 1805, but it is 1789 in *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. The vernacular history states that he succeeded Prithvi-Singh. Bir-Singh was fated to be the last ruling Chief of Nurpur. Things seem to have gone on quietly in the State till the invasion of Kangra by the Gurkhas in 1805, when all the hill Chiefs combined against Sansar-Chand and sent contingents to assist in his overthrow. After holding out for four years in Kangra Fort, Sansar-Chand appealed to Ranjit-Singh for help, and in 1809 the Maharaja advanced into the hills and compelled the Gurkhas to retire across the Satluj, receiving in return the Kangra Fort and 66 villages in the valley, for the maintenance of the garrison. With the fort he also acquired the supremacy over all the Hill States between the Ravi and the Satluj. Soon afterwards Ranjit-Singh began to disclose his hostile designs towards the Hill States and in 1812 he came in person with an army to Dinanagar to exact tribute from the hill Rajas, and Nurpur was called upon to pay Rs. 40,000.

But darker days were near at hand.² In the autumn of 1815 Ranjit-Singh summoned all his Sardars and feudatory Chiefs to a great military assembly at Sialkot. The Rajas of Nurpur and Jaswan failed to attend, and a fine was deliberately imposed upon each which it was impossible to pay. The Raja of Jaswan quietly surrendered his State, receiving a small *jagir* in exchange. Bir Singh did his utmost to meet the unjust demand, even to the mortgage and sale of his family idols and sacrificial vessels of silver and gold. But even this did not suffice, and he was sent back from Lahore under charge of a Sikh force and had to make over the State. A *jagir* was offered him which he indignantly declined. During the night he escaped into Chamba territory and his people rallied around him. In the skirmish which followed he was completely defeated by the disciplined

¹ *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 108.

² *Kangra Settlement Report*, pages 11-12. Cf. *History of the Punjab*, Muhammad Latif, page 403.

battalions of the Sikhs, and fled in disguise, by mountain paths into British territory, to the east of the Satluj. In the latter part of 1816 he was at Ludhiana, plotting with Shah Shuja, the exiled Amir of Kabul, against Ranjit-Singh. On a complaint being made to Government by the Maharaja, Bir Singh was asked to go elsewhere. He then settled in Arki, one of the Simla Hill States, and there he lived for ten years. But all the time he was in secret communication with his old officials, and in 1826 he returned to Nurpur in disguise. Again his faithful subjects rallied to his call and he laid siege to the fort. On the news of this revolt reaching Lahore a force was at once despatched under Desa-Singh Majithia, and Bir-Singh fled to Chamba. Fearing the consequences, the Chamba Chief delivered him up to Ranjit-Singh, and he was confined in Govindgarh Fort at Amritsar for seven years. Bir-Singh had married a sister of Charhat-Singh of Chamba, and partly by her solicitations, and partly, it is said, out of compunction for his own conduct, the Chamba Raja at length secured his release by the payment of a sum of Rs. 85,000. A *jagir* of Rs. 12,000 value at Kathlot, a fertile district on the Ravi, was again offered him and again declined. Mr. Barnes refers to another offer of a *jagir* of Rs. 25,000 yearly value which was probably made about this time. The offer was made through Raja Dhian Singh of Jammu, Prime Minister of the Sikh Kingdom. Mr. Barnes says : " Dhian-Singh had a *sanad* or patent in his possession duly signed and sealed under the sign manual of the Maharaja, and before making it over he wished to extort from Bir-Singh the coveted salutation of "Jaidiya," accorded to a ruling Chief, the offering of which by Bir-Singh would have been an acknowledgment of Dhian-Singh's regal status and of his own inferiority. This he refused to do. He was a Raja by hereditary right, while Dhian-Singh held the title only by favour of Ranjit-Singh, and the proud Rajput would not compromise his honour even for the sake of affluence, nor accord a salutation that would have involved a degradation of himself in the eyes of the brotherhood. He had, therefore, again to retire into exile and took up his residence at Dhamtal on the edge of the plains, while his *rami* and infant son continued to reside in Chamba, on an allowance from the Raja of Rs. 500 a month."

Mr. Vigne, the traveller, visited Nurpur in June 1835,¹ and again in the spring of 1839, on his way back from Chamba.

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pages 157-8,

Of Nurpur he tells us little ; but he has much to say about Bir-Singh whom he met in Chamba. He says : “ I visited poor Bir-Singh at Chamba and found him in a large building on the south side of the town. His anxiety to regain possession of his dominions was evident in every sentence that he uttered, and he continued to relate the history of his misfortunes and to request my assistance, although I assured him over and over again that I was not an employee either of the King or of the East India Company.” “ Reinststate me again at Nurpur,” he exclaimed, “ and promise that you will not interfere in my domestic affairs and I will do anything to show my gratitude to the English, and will commence by making a wide road for them throughout my dominions.”

Mr. Vigne's account of Bir-Singh's misfortunes, as he heard the story from his own lips, is interesting :¹ “ Bir-Singh is now an elderly man, short in stature, with a long face, large aquiline features, a countenance that would be remarkable anywhere and a good-natured, manly but very melancholy expression. Many years ago a Sikh General invaded his country by order of the Maharaja. He defended himself successfully for several days, but Ranjit-Singh sent to request an interview, and Bir-Singh repaired to Lahore. There, such is his own story, he was threatened with annihilation from the mouth of a cannon if he did not agree to the Maharaja's terms. The Sikhs say that Ranjit-Singh demanded the evacuation of the castle of Nurpur, in order that it might be garrisoned by his own troops, and that he would allow the Raja to keep possession of the country upon payment of a certain revenue, and that he was liberated on these conditions. However, when he had obtained his liberty he returned to Nurpur, collected a force and tried to retake the castle, upon which the Sikhs returned with a strong force and the Raja fled towards Chamba. But the Raja of the latter place, whose sister he had married, fearing the resentment of Ranjit refused to protect him, and he was again taken prisoner, confined for seven years at Amritsar and acquired his liberty only in a fit of compunction which seized Ranjit when he supposed himself to be on his death-bed. Bir-Singh again came to Chamba and his brother-in-law, the Raja, purchased his freedom for a lakh of rupees. He has since passed many years at Simla and Sabathu in the Company's territories, and his whole prayer night and day was for the death of Ranjit,

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, pages 145-6.

after which he expected that we should again reinstate him : and I am of opinion that it will some day be found necessary to do so."

The story of Bir-Singh's last effort to regain his kingdom is full of pathos. In the autumn of 1845 the Sikh army crossed the Satluj to invade British territory, and in four hard-fought battles their power was broken. The news spread throughout the hills and Bir-Singh's hour had come. Once more his people rallied to his summons, and he laid siege to the Nurpur Fort. But the strain was too great for one of his years, with a frame already enfeebled by privation and suffering, and he died before the walls. The only consolation granted him was that his enemies had been crushed, and that to this extent at least his wrongs had been avenged.

On the conclusion of the first Sikh War the whole of the hill tracts between the Satluj and the Indus were ceded to the British Government, and the portion between the Satluj and the Ravi was retained as British territory, the rest being disposed of to Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu. The ruling Chiefs who had been ousted from their dominions by the Sikhs had long looked forward with eager expectation to our coming, in the belief that they would all be restored to power. Great then was their disappointment when they found that this was not to be, and that Government meant to retain under its own control all that the Sikhs had annexed. They all became disaffected, and on being approached by the leaders of the revolt in 1848, they lent a willing ear, on the promise that if successful their possessions would be restored. Nurpur was the first to rise in rebellion. Bir-Singh had left a son, named Jaswant-Singh, a minor, whose chief officer was Ram-Singh, son of the last Wazir of the State. Gathering a force from the Jammu Hills, Ram-Singh suddenly crossed the Ravi and occupied Shahpur Fort, where he proclaimed Jaswant-Singh Raja of Nurpur and himself as his Wazir. On the arrival of a British force from Hoshiarpur to invest the fort, Ram-Singh and his followers vacated it by night and took up a position on a wooded range near Nurpur. This was stormed and Ram-Singh then fled to the Sikh army in Gujrat.¹

In January 1849 ² Ram-Singh returned to the Nurpur hills with two Sikh regiments from the army at Rasul, each

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, page 14.

² *Ibid.*, page 15.

500 strong, and took up a position on the Dalle ka Dhar, a rocky ridge of the Savalak area, north-east of Shahpur and overhanging the Ravi. The position was very strong, and being held by disciplined troops the assault was one of considerable difficulty. A force under Brigadier Wheeler was sent against it, and the place was captured with loss on both sides. Two young English officers were among the killed, one of them a nephew of Sir Robert Peel.

Ram-Singh was soon afterwards taken in Kangra, having been betrayed, it is said, for gold, by a Brahman, whom he trusted as a friend. He was banished to Singapur where he died, but his name is still remembered in these mountains, and his exploits are sung by the hill bards.

Jaswant-Singh,¹ son of Bir-Singh, was then a boy of ten years old. When the question of a pension for the family came up in 1846, Sir Henry Lawrence, then the Agent to the Governor-General at Lahore, was inclined to be generous in view of the gallant and obstinate resistance which Bir-Singh had offered to the Sikhs, and the fact that he had refused to accept a *jagir* from Ranjit-Singh. A *jagir* of Rs. 20,000 was offered to the young Chief, on condition that he should not reside at Nurpur, which his officials foolishly declined. The offer was reduced to Rs. 5,000 by Sir John Lawrence, who was less sympathetic than his brother with the old Chiefs, and this the Raja had to accept a year later. This pension was continued to him after the outbreak, as, being a minor, he could not be held responsible for the acts of his officials. When the matter of family allowances was reconsidered in 1861, the pension was doubled, in consideration of the antecedents of the family and the Raja's loyal attitude during the Mutiny. Part of the sum was afterwards converted into a small *jagir* and the rest is paid in cash.

Gagan-Singh, the present Raja, a grandson of Bir-Singh, resides near the town of Nurpur and is the sixth Viceregal Darbari in the Kangra District. His brother was an officer in the 29th Punjabis and is now dead. He was with his regiment in the Great War.

¹ *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, pages 383-4.

CHAPTER VII.

Chamba State.

Chamba is one of the oldest Native States in India, having been founded not later than A.D. 600 and perhaps as early as A.D. 550. It is situated in the bosom of the Himalaya Mountains, and the boundaries are as follows:—

On the north-west and west, Jammu and Kashmir; on the north-east and east, Ladakh, British-Lahul and Bara Bangahal; on the south-east and south, the districts of Kangra and Gurdaspur.

The superficial area of the State is 3,216 square miles; with a population of 146,872 at the census of 1931; giving a proportion of about 41 to the square mile. At the time of its greatest expansion, the State also included the entire mountain fringe to the south of the Dhaula Dhar, called Rihlu and Palam, as far as Bangahal and also Padar and Bhadrawah in the Chinab Valley, and was then about double its present area.

In shape the State is more or less of a rough oblong, contracted towards the north. The greatest length, from south-west to north-east, is about 70 miles; and the greatest breadth, from south-east to north-west, about 50 miles. The average length may be put at 65 miles and the average breadth at 50 miles. Within this area are comprised a small portion of the Bias Valley; a section of the Ravi Valley, which is the Chamba Valley Proper; and a similar section of the Chinab Valley, called Pangl and Chamba-Lahul. The territory is wholly mountainous, with altitudes ranging from 2,000 to 21,000 feet above sea-level; the inhabited area reaching to 10,000 feet.

The mountain ranges running through the State from south-east to north-west and forming the watersheds of the great rivers are,—the Outer Himalaya or Dhaula-Dhar, separating the Bias from the Ravi; the Mid-Himalaya or Pangl Range—the Pir Panjal of geologists—separating the Ravi from the Chinab; and the Main Himalaya closing in the State to the north and separating the Chinab from the Indus.

Chamba, the capital, and the only town in the State, has a population of about 6,000. It stands on a plateau

on the right bank of the Ravi—19 miles due east of the hill station of Dalhousie and about 50 miles from Shahpur, where the Ravi debouches on the plains.

The principal authority for the history of the State is the *Vansavali*, or genealogical roll of the Rajas, which, in addition to a list of names, contains much historical material of great interest. Its value as a historical record has been fully proved by the study of the inscriptions which, on the one hand, have confirmed its credibility, and on the other, have derived from it much support in deciding chronological questions. Next in importance are the epigraphical records and copper-plate title-deeds. Sheltered by its snow-clad mountain barriers, Chamba has had the rare good fortune to escape the successive waves of Muhammadan invasion, which swept away all monuments of old Indian civilization on the plains. The result is that its ancient remains are more abundant and better preserved than in any other part of the Panjab. In Kashmir, a centre of Sanskrit learning in former times, the temples of Lalitaditya and his successors were ruthlessly destroyed by Sikandar Butshikan; and only a few poor fragments of inscriptions have come to light. In Chamba, the brazen idols of Meru-Varman, nearly contemporaneous with the temple of Martand, still stand in their ancient shrines of carved cedar wood; copper-plate grants issued by the early rulers of Chamba, whose names figure in the *Rajatarangini*, are still preserved by the descendants of the original donees, who enjoy the granted lands up to the present day. Chamba is thus not only a store-house of antiquities, but in itself a relic of the past, invaluable to the student of India's ancient history.

Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to draw attention, in 1839, to the ancient remains of Chamba, but it was only in more recent years that the whole wealth of antiquarian and especially epigraphical material has come to light. The inscriptions are found all over the State and are remarkable alike for their number and their variety. Excluding the last two centuries, no fewer than 130 inscriptions have been collected, of which 50 are of the pre-Muhammadan and 80 of the Muhammadan period. The oldest inscriptions are in the Gupta character, of the seventh century, and those of a later date are in Sarada¹—the script in use in the

¹ Sarada and Takari or Tankari are names for the same script; with local modifications, in use all over the Western Himalaya, and in former times also on the plains. The script is an indirect derivation of western Gupta and is still in use, in a cursive form, in the books of banyas and others in the Panjab. It is called Dogri in Jammu, and is in use as far east as the Jamna.

Panjab hills, and probably also on the plains, from about the eighth century; and still in use in Kashmir. The more recent ones are in Takari and Nagari and a few in Tibetan. These records are classified according to the objects on which they are found, as rock inscriptions, image inscriptions, slab inscriptions, and copper-plate title-deeds. The rock inscriptions are the most ancient, but they are few in number and difficult to decipher. The image inscriptions come next in point of age of which the oldest are found on the idols erected by Raja Meru-Varman in Brahmaur about A.D. 700. Most of the stone inscriptions are found on large slabs, covered with quaint and grotesque figures, which the traveller will often observe at springs, either *in situ* or lying disused and broken. These slabs originally formed parts of elaborately carved cisterns erected in the olden time, chiefly by the Ranas and Thakurs, who ruled the country previous to the advent of the Rajas, and who continued to exercise great authority for centuries after their subjection. The inscriptions generally record the erection of a cistern (called *Varuna-deva*), in memory of their deceased ancestor, and for their spiritual bliss in the next world. Such carved slabs are found not only all over the State but also beyond its borders, whereas inscribed slabs seem to be peculiar to Chamba. The oldest of the latter kind records the erection of a temple by a feudatory of Raja Meru-Varman as the Rana styles himself, and must therefore date from about A.D. 700. Historically these epigraphs are of great value. In most cases they are fully dated, both according to the era then in use and the regnal year of the ruling Chief of the time. Two of them found in Pangri have made it possible to fix the dates of accession of two Chamba Rajas of the twelfth century, whose names alone are found in the *Vansavali*.

The Chamba State also possesses a unique collection of copper-plate title-deeds—more than 150 in number,—five of them belonging to the pre-Muhammadan period. In ancient times and down almost to the present day it was customary to give copper-plate title-deeds, conveying grants of land to Brahmans and temples. Such title-deeds are referred to by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian, and must therefore have been in use in the fifth century. With the exception of a few plates, the Panjab has yielded no ancient records of this kind, though they must have been at one time as numerous there as in other parts of India. The pre-Muhammadan plates have a special value. The oldest of

them was issued by Yugakara-Varman, son and successor of Raja Sahila-Varman, who founded the present capital. Three others, of the eleventh century, corroborate the references to Chamba in the *Rajatarangini*, and also give us the names of two Rajas which are not found in the *Vansavali*. Of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries not a single copper-plate has been found, but from A.D. 1330 a series of plates begins which has been continued without interruption to the present day.

There are no sources of information to help us to determine who were the original inhabitants of the mountain area now included in the Chamba State, but common tradition affirms that they came from the plains. If one may hazard a conjecture where all is uncertain it seems not improbable that the aborigines of these hills are now represented to a large extent by the various low-caste tribes, which form a very considerable proportion of the population. We know that this is the case on the plains, and it seems not unreasonable to believe that the same is true of the hills. In Chamba State the tribes in question comprise fully one-fourth of the population. They are included under the names of Koli, Hali, Sipi, Chamar, Dumna, Barwala, Megh, Darain, Rehara, Sarara, Lohar, Bhatwal, Dhaugri, and some others.¹ Though differing among themselves as regards social status, they are all looked upon as outcasts by the high caste Hindu, who applies to them the epithet of Chanal or Chandal. These low-caste tribes possess no traditions as to their original home, which tends to confirm the conjecture that a long period of time must have elapsed since they first migrated to the hills. General Cunningham believed that the Western Himalaya were at one time occupied by a true Kolian group from the same race as the Kols of Central India.² There are still many people in the Western Hills who bear the name of Koli; and the Hali, Sipi, Megh and Dagi, etc., are essentially the same people. The Dagi of Kulu, for example, are all called Koli as an alternative name. These tribes must have been of non-Aryan origin like the other aborigines of India, but a great fusion of races took place in ancient times by intermarriage, and later by degradation from the high castes,—a process

¹ The Megh, Dum, Chamar and other allied castes are found in the same social position in the Jammu area. In Kangra and Kulu, and as far as the Satluj, the same or similar names are used to designate the same class of people.

² There was also probably a large Dravidian element in the aboriginal population of the hills,—*Vedic India*, pages 287—293 and the *North-Western Province of India*, by W. Crookes, pages 58—93.

which is still going on. This doubtless led in course of time to many changes in the appearance and characteristics of the people, and to these we may ascribe the fact that all now exhibit the features of the Aryan race, and use dialects of the Aryan family of languages. These low-caste tribes are employed in menial occupations, many of them being farm servants and artisans. Some of those in Chamba State, and probably in other parts of the hills, are small farmers, and hold land either directly from the State, or from high-caste proprietors. In their subordinate position of farm servants they were usually spoken of as *kama*, and in former times, and indeed up to the commencement of British rule, were in a state analagous to that of slavery. Even now they labour under some social restrictions, especially in the Native States; and their condition generally seems to indicate that they have long occupied a very depressed position in the social scale. There is a common saying in the hills which runs thus:—*Chanal jetha, Rathi kanetha*: “The Chanal is the elder brother: the Rathi, the younger.” The meaning attached to this saying by the people is, that the high-castes are dependent on the Chanals, just as a younger brother is on an elder one. No ceremony of any importance can take place without their presence and help. At births, marriages and deaths they are indispensable in one capacity or another. It seems improbable, however, that this was the original signification, which has become obscured through the lapse of ages. It is more likely that the saying is an unconscious expression of the general conviction that the Chanals were the original inhabitants of the hills. The Rathis came at a later period; yet so long a time has passed since even they migrated to the mountains, that they are generally regarded as having been always resident there.

A view of Aryan migration, recently suggested by Professor Rhys Davids, throws much light on the colonisation of the hills.¹ He postulates three lines of advance, one of which was along the foot of the Himalaya from Kashmir eastward. The Aryans, being hillsmen, tended to cling to the hills, and we learn that there is clear evidence, in Sanskrit literature, of their presence in the Western Himalaya at a very early period, probably before that in which the hymns of the Rig Veda were compiled.² We may therefore assume that the

¹ *Buddhist India*, page 32.

² *Vedic India*, page 170.

oldest strata of the Aryan population of Chamba State are of very ancient origin.¹

At the present time the four principal caste sub-divisions are Brahman, Rajput, Thakkur and Rathī—of which the two latter may be regarded as one caste—and they include the great bulk of the high-caste population. It is noteworthy that, in general character and mutual relationship, they substantially represent the three sections of the ancient Aryan community, *viz.*, Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya.²

But while the lower strata of the population in each of these castes are probably of ancient origin, it is certain that all of them have received large accessions from the plains at various periods as the result of invasion and immigration.

As regards the Brahmans, it is probable that many of them began to find their way into the hills at an early period, as priests and religious devotees. The Gaddi Brahmans have a tradition that their ancestors came from Delhi to Brahmaur in the reign of Raja Ajia-Varman, A.D. 780—800. Many of the Rajputs are probably the descendants of invaders from the plains. The Gaddi Rajputs have the same tradition as the Gaddi Brahmans as to their original home: while the Gaddi Khatriis say that their ancestors fled from Lahore to escape persecution, probably at the time of the early Muhammadan invasions. Doubtless many of all castes came to the hills for the same reason during the period of Muhammadan rule.

The Thakkur and Rathī are almost certainly of ancient origin, and are regarded as indigenous to the hills, or indigenous by the half-blood with the aborigines. These castes are widely distributed throughout the Western Hills. In the Jammu area, between the Jehlam and the Ravi, they are almost all classed as Thakkur: and in the Kangra area, the same people are called Thakkur and Rathī. They are essentially an agricultural people, resembling in many respects the Jats of the plains. In Chamba they number more than one-half of the high-caste inhabitants, and form the backbone of the population.

The Gaddis are a separate clan. The term Gaddi is a generic name, and under it are included Brahmans, Rajputs, Khatriis, Thakkurs and Rathis. The majority, however, are

¹ Dr. Grierson has recently pointed out that the dialects of Rajputana are closely allied to those of the Himalaya. *R. A. S.*, October, 1901, page 808.

² The original meaning of Vaishya simply was "the common people."

Khatris. As the custom of the Brahman and Rajput sections is to return themselves under their caste names, it is improbable that many of these have been classed as Gaddis. The census returns may, therefore, be regarded as including, chiefly, the Khatri, Thakkur and Rathhi sections of the clan. The traditions as to their original home have already been referred to. They are found principally in the Brahmaur Wazarat, which is called Gadaran,¹ but also in other parts of the State.

As regards the minor high-castes, chiefly consisting of Khatri, Kumhar, Jat, Sikh, etc., the figures for each are so small that their presence in the State is easily accounted for, and the same is true of the Muhammadan portion of the population. They must all have come from the plains, probably at no very remote period.

It is difficult to determine with certainty the exact date at which the Chamba State was founded, but it seems probable that this event took place about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The following are the reasons on which this conclusion is based. There are, as has already been said, several references to Chamba—or Champa as the place was then named—in the *Rajatarangini*, and the earliest of these is interesting and valuable as furnishing a fixed and fairly reliable date from which to begin our chronological inquiry. We read that Ananta-Deva, Raja of Kashmir, who reigned from A.D. 1028 to A.D. 1063, invaded Chamba; uprooted the ruling Raja, named Sala, and set up another in his place. No reference to this invasion is to be found in the State annals, and there is only one Raja mentioned in the *Vansavali* whose name bears any resemblance to that in the *Rajatarangini*. This is the name of Saila or Sahila-Varman who was the founder of the present capital. It was for some time supposed that this was the Raja referred to, and the absence of any allusion to the invasion in the Chronicle left the matter more or less in doubt, until the discovery of three copper-plate title-deeds, which practically set the question at rest. All of these title-deeds make mention of a Raja Salavahana-Varman, whose name is entirely omitted from the *Vansavali*, as also that of his elder son, Soma-Varman. Asata-Varman, his younger son, is alone mentioned. It is manifest that Salavahana must be the Raja referred to as having been

¹ *Gadaran*, from Skr. *gadar* "a sheep" and meaning "sheep country," and *gaddi* "a shepherd."

deposed by Ananta-Deva. That both he and his son, Soma-Varman, actually reigned is clear from the tenor of the inscriptions on the copper-plates. Unfortunately they have no date. We know, however, that Ananta-Deva began his reign as a child in A.D. 1028, and may therefore assume that his conquest of Chamba cannot have taken place before A.D. 1050. As he abdicated in favour of his son in 1063, the invasion must have occurred previous to this; and such is implied in the narrative. The earliest of the copper-plates in question purport to have been granted by Soma-Varman, son of Salavahana-Varman, in the seventh year of his reign, in the month of Bhadon, and on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There was a solar eclipse in Bhadon A.D. 1066,¹ and though the day does not exactly correspond with that on the plate, it is near enough to raise a strong probability that this is the eclipse referred to. In ancient times it was customary to date such plates on the very day of the eclipse, as it was considered to add to the merit of the gift, but there were doubtless exceptions to the rule, and this may have been one of them. It is very interesting to note that the signature of *Salavahana* himself appears on the plate in a somewhat defaced but quite legible form, and from this we may conclude that it had been his intention to make the grant himself, and that he was prevented from doing so by his deposition and probable death. The son was thus only carrying out his father's wish.

Now if we count back seven years from A.D. 1066, we get A.D. 1059-60 as the probable date of the invasion of Ananta-Deva and of Soma-Varman's accession, and in any case that invasion cannot have been later than A.D. 1060, nor much earlier than A.D. 1050. From this date to A.D. 1870, the year in which Raja Sri-Singh died, there were 37 Rajas in consecutive order, during a period of 810—20 years, giving an average reign of 22 years. Again from A.D. 1589 to A.D. 1870—a period for which there are authentic and reliable data,—there were 11 Rajas in 281 years, with an average reign of 25 years. General Cunningham allows 25 years to each reign, but this seems excessive; an average of 20 years would appear to be safer. Now there were, according to the *Vansavali*, 26 Rajas from Maru, the founder of the State, to Salavahana, whose reign came to an end not later than

¹ Solar eclipses took place in the month of Bhadon of the years 1047, 1056 and 1066, but we are justified in restricting the alternative dates to 1056 and 1066, the latter being regarded as the more probable date of the eclipse referred to.

A.D. 1060. Allowing an average reign of 20 years we arrive at A.D. 540—50 as the approximate date for the founding of the State, which is thus proved to be one of the most ancient principalities in India. The original capital, as we know, was at Brahmaur in the Upper Ravi Valley, where numerous traditions are still current concerning many of the ancient Rajas, and there are also archæological and epigraphical remains, which afford a remarkable corroboration of the conclusion which has been reached, as regards the antiquity of the State. There are three inscriptions on brass in Brahmaur, and one in Chhatrari, a village half-way between Brahmaur and Chamba. Of these, one is on the pedestal of a brazen bull of life size, standing in front of the temple of Mani-Mahesa, the erection of which is traditionally ascribed to Meru-Varman who was the eighth Raja in succession from Maru. The two other inscriptions at Brahmaur are on the pedestals of the idols Lakshana Devi and Ganesa, and that at Chhatrari is similarly on the pedestal of the image of Sakti Devi; and the erection of these idols is traditionally attributed to the same Raja. The inscriptions themselves which have now been translated confirm these popular traditions. The name of Meru-Varman is found on all of them, and it is stated that the idols were dedicated by his order. Even more interesting is the fact that in two of these inscriptions—those of Lakshana Devi and Ganesa—the Raja traces back his own ancestry for three generations, and mentions the names of his father, Divakara-Varman; his grandfather, Bala-Varman; and his great-grandfather, Aditya-Varman.¹ Two of these names are found in the *Vansavali* in a modified form, which leaves no doubt as to their identity with the names in the inscriptions. The third—that of Bala-Varman—seems to have been omitted at a very early period, probably in the process of copying. The name of Aditya-Varman is found as Adi-Varman in the *Vansavali*, while that of Divakara-Varman occurs as Deva-Varman, both in the *Vansavali* and in the Chhatrari inscription. There is unfortunately no date on any of these inscriptions, but from a careful examination of the characters in which they are written, they cannot be assigned to a later period than the early part of the eighth century, and they probably date from the very beginning of that century. The name of Meru-Varman is evidently out of its proper place in the *Vansavali*, as it stands fifth in succession after Divakara-Varman, who was his father.

¹ He also mentions Moshuna or Mushuna, the progenitor of his race.

Correcting the *Vansavali* by the inscriptions, which are more reliable, we find that Meru-Varman reigned from A.D. 680 to A.D. 700, or a little later. A further proof that these inscriptions are contemporaneous is afforded by the fact that all of them were executed by the same workman, whose name was Gugga, as shown on the inscriptions themselves. This also is in agreement with common tradition, by which the name of Gugga has been handed down to the present day.

With all these data at our disposal it becomes a comparatively easy matter to fix an approximate date for the founding of the present capital. The *Vansavali* is very explicit as to the founder, and here again common tradition is in full accord. His name was Sahila-Varman, and he was the 20th Raja in succession from Maru, the founder of the State. Salavahana-Varman, whose reign came to an end not later than A.D. 1060, was the sixth Raja after Sahila-Varman, and by deducting six reigns, or 120 years, from A.D. 1060, we find that Sahila-Varman must have ruled from about A.D. 920 to A.D. 940. His reign was probably a long one, and it may have been in the earlier part of it, say, A.D. 930, that the town of Chamba was founded, and the seat of government transferred thither from Brahmaur. From that time onward to the present day there is an almost unbroken chain of historical evidence furnished, partly by the Chronicle, which is full and clear, and still more by a series of copper-plate title-deeds—about one hundred and fifty in number.¹ The oldest of these yet discovered bears the name of Yugakar-Varman, the son and successor of Sahila-Varman. The date on this plate is a year of his reign, and the same is true of the plates of Vidagdha-Varman, his son, and of Soma-Varman and Asata-Varman, sons of the deposed Raja, Salavahana-Varman, who followed their father in succession. Here, however, the *Rajatarangini* again comes to our aid, and from it we learn that Asata-Varman visited Kashmir, on which Chamba was then dependent, in A.D. 1087-88; his son Jasata-Varman in A.D. 1101; and his grandson, Udaya-Varman, in A.D. 1122. Udaya-Varman's name is probably misplaced in the *Vansavali*, and a correction has to be made in accordance with the *Rajatarangini*; otherwise these dates agree with the Chronicle.

¹ From ancient times it seems to have been the custom for every Chamba Chief, on his accession, to make a grant of land to a Brahman or a temple. As many as 42 of these plates are known to have been given in the course of one reign.

The Rajas of Chamba belong to the Surajvansi line of Rajputs; and their *Vansavali* begins from Vishnu or Narayana. Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana*, is sixty-third in the order of descent, which is continued through Kusa, the third son of Rama. The original home of the family is said to have been in Ayodhya, but they removed at a very early period to the Upper Ganges Valley, where they settled in Kalapa. The historical portion of the *Vansavali* commences with the name of Maru who was then the head of the family, and contains sixty-nine names including that of the present ruling Chief.

Maru is said to have been at first a religious devotee whose life was given up to *tapas* or self-mortification. He afterwards married, and three sons were born to him. When they reached manhood he bestowed a kingdom on each of them. Leaving the eldest in the ancestral home, he traversed the Panjab with the other two, and settled one of them in the mountains near Kashmir. Accompanied by Jaistambh, the youngest, he then penetrated to the Upper Ravi Valley through the outer hills, and having conquered that territory from the petty Ranas who held it, he founded the town of Brahmapura¹ and made it the capital of a new State. This event is believed to have taken place about the middle of the sixth century A.D.

The original State was of very small extent, and in all likelihood comprised, at the most, only the present Brahmaur Wazarat, i.e., the valley of the Ravi from below Bara Bangahal, with its tributaries, the Budhil and the Tundahen, as far down as Chhatrari.

It would appear that Maru's rule was only nominal, for the Chronicle says that, having founded the State, he made it over to his son, and returned to Kalapa, where he again became a *sadhu*.

After Maru several Rajas ruled in succession, but only their names are known. They were—*Jaistambh*, *Jalstambh* and *Mahastambh*.

Aditya-Varman, c. A.D. 620.—The name of Aditya-Varman appears as Adi-Varman in the *Vansavali* and is of

¹ The people believe that the place was named after Brahmani Devi, the patron goddess of the Budhil Valley, whose shrine is situated a little way above the town. The name was in use, however, at a still earlier period, for the more ancient kingdom of Brahmapura now British Garhwal and Kumaon. The present form of the word is Brahmaur (map), Barmaur,

very special interest, for it is twice mentioned in the Brahmaur inscriptions, in which he is referred to as the great-grandfather of Meru-Varman, by whose orders they were engraved ; and he was the first of the Chmaba line to assume the suffix of 'Varman.'

There are several references to Chamba in the Kulu Chronicle,¹ and the earliest of these probably refers to Aditya-Varman. It is to the effect that Brahmo Pal, Raja of Kulu, left no legitimate sons, and the Rajas of Chamba (Brahmapura), Ladakh, Suket, Bushahr, Kangra and Bangahal made one Ganesh-Pal his heir. This note, if authentic, is interesting as showing that at that early period the Brahmaura State was recognised by all the neighbouring States, and was powerful enough to exert some influence in their internal affairs.

Bala-Varman, c. A.D. 640.—The name of Bala-Varman is not found in the *Vansavali* ; having been omitted probably by a clerical error. It occurs, however, in two of the Brahmaur inscriptions, in which Bara-Varman is called the grandfather of Meru-Varman.

Divakara-Varman, c. A.D. 660.—In the Brahmaur inscriptions this Raja's name is found in its full form ; but in the *Vansavali*, and the Chhatrari inscription, it occurs as Deva-Varman.

Meru-Varman, c. A.D. 680.—As the name of Meru-Varman stands fifth in the *Vansavali*, after that of the previous Raja who was his father, it is clearly out of its proper place. The error must have crept in at an early period, for all the existing copies of the *Vansavali* are alike.

Meru-Varman seems to have been one of the most notable of the early Brahmapura rulers. He was probably the first to extend the State boundaries by conquest, for in the Chhatrari inscription it is recorded that he dedicated the idol of Sakti Devi in gratitude for help against his enemies whom he had attacked in their strongholds and overcome. An inscribed stone has recently been found at Gun which was erected by a *samanta* or feudatory of Meru-Varman, probably a Rana, named Ashadha. From this it is clear that Meru-Varman's rule extended down the Ravi Valley almost as far as the present capital. There is also a note in the Kulu Chronicle which almost certainly refers to him. In the reign

¹ Vide *Kulu, Lahul and Spiti*, by Captain Harcourt.

of Sri Dateshawar-Pal, Raja of Kulu, there was war with Chamba (Brahmapura) in which the Kulu Chief was killed by Amar, Raja of Chamba. There is no such name on the Chamba roll ; but it seems not improbable that Meru-Varman is the Raja referred to. Assuming this to be correct, it would appear that under Meru-Varman the Brahmapura State asserted its power, and carried its arms successfully into one at least of the neighbouring principalities. This is confirmed by the further note in the Kulu annals that Amar-Pal, Raja of that State, while defending his country from another inroad of the Brahmapura Chief, was slain with all his sons, except one. This son, Sital-Pal, was an exile for life, and he and five of his descendants never reigned, from which it would seem that Kulu remained subject to Brahmapura for a considerable period.¹

But Meru-Varman was not only a brave and warlike leader, he was also a great builder, and there are still in existence in Brahmaur many interesting remains, some of which are known to date from his time. They prove that even at that early period of its history the State possessed a considerable measure of wealth and material resources. The remains consist chiefly of temples, in a remarkably good state of preservation in spite of their long exposure to the weather. Their names are Mani-Mahesa, Lakshana Devi, Ganesa and Narsingh.² In front of the Mani-Mahesa temple is a brazen bull of life size, on the pedestal of which is a long inscription. This and the other two inscriptions, in the temples of Lakshana Devi and Ganesa distinctly ascribe the dedication of all the idols named, except that of Narsingh, and also of the brazen bull, to Meru-Varman. Tradition affirms that the Surajmukha shrine was also built by him, and in accordance with ancient custom, a Chamba Raja, when visiting Brahmaur, must pay his devotions at this temple before proceeding to his camp. The image of Sakti Devi at Chhatrari, with its inscription, has already been referred to as dating from the reign of Meru-Varman. Lands are said to have been assigned for the support of these temples, but no title-deeds have yet been found of an earlier date than the tenth century.

¹ Vide *Kulu, Lahul and Spiti*, pages 113-14.

² While the shrines of Lakshana Devi and Ganesa at Brahmaur, and of Sakti Devi at Chhatrari, almost certainly date from the time of Meru-Varman, the present temple of Mani-Mahesa is probably of later date ; the original temple, however, was erected by Meru-Varman as proved by the inscription on the bull,

Meru-Varman was followed by several Rajas, of whom we know nothing but the names. These were:—*Mandar-Varman*; *Kantar-Varman*; *Pragalbh-Varman*.

Ajia-Varman, c. A.D. 760.—The Gaddi Brahmans and Rajputs have a tradition that they came to Brahmaur from Delhi in the reign of this Raja. It is also on record that when his son grew up to manhood Ajia-Varman initiated him into the art of government, and then installed him as Raja. He thereafter retired to the junction of the Ravi and Budhil rivers near Ulansa, where he spent the rest of his life in the worship of Siva; and is said to have been translated to heaven.

Suvarn-Varman, c. A.D. 780.

Lakshmi-Varman, c. A.D. 800.—Lakshmi-Varman had not been long in power when the country was visited by an epidemic of a virulent and fatal character, resembling cholera or plague. Large numbers fell victims to the disease, and the State was in a measure depopulated. Taking advantage of the desolation which prevailed, a people, bearing the name of “Kira” in the Chronicle, invaded Brahmapura, and, having killed the Raja, took possession of the territory. It is uncertain who the Kira were. They are referred to in the *Brihat Samhita* in association with Kashmiris,¹ but in such a manner as to show that the two nations were distinct from each other. Sir Aurel Stein is of opinion that they occupied the mountains north-east of Kashmir and they may therefore have been Tibetans or Yarkandis, as is the belief in Chamba. They also held Baijnath in the Kangra Valley, which was anciently called Kiragrama.

Kulu had probably remained under the sway of Brahmapura from the time of Meru-Varman; but it recovered its independence on the death of Lakshmi-Varman; for the Kulu Chronicle states that its Raja obtained help from Bushahr and expelled the Chamba (Brahmapura) troops.

Mushan-Varman, c. A.D. 820.—Lakshmi-Varman left no son, but his *rani* was *enceinte* at the time of his death, and an interesting legend has come down to us regarding the birth of her child. On the defeat and death of the Raja, the Wazir and *parohit*, or family priest, had the *rani* put into a *palki* and carried off towards Kangra. On reaching the village of Garoh, a little beyond Deol, in the Trehta *ilaga* of the Upper Ravi Valley, she felt the pains of labour coming on, and

¹ They are also mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* in association with Kashmiris. *Rajatarangini*, VIII, 2767, and *Brihat Samhita*, II, 365.

desiring the bearers to put down the *palki*, went into a cave by the wayside, and there her son was born. Thinking it better to leave the infant to perish than run the risk of his capture by their enemies who were in pursuit, she left him in the cave and returning to the *palki* resumed her journey. Suspicion was, however, aroused, and, on being closely questioned, the *rani* confessed that she had given birth to a son, and left him in the cave. The Wazir and the *parohit* at once went back, and found the young prince, with a number of mice surrounding and keeping guard over him; and from this circumstance he was named Mushan-Varman.¹ The villagers still shew the stone on which he is said to have been laid. Having recovered the child the party proceeded on their journey to Kangra. There the *rani* took up her residence in the house of a Brahman whom she made her guru, and remained eight or nine years under his protection, without disclosing her identity. One day the boy happened to tread on some flour sprinkled on the floor, and the Brahman, on seeing his foot-print,² recognized it to be that of a royal person, and the mother being questioned made known her relationship to the Brahmapura royal family. The Brahman thereupon conducted her and the child to the Raja of Suket, who received them kindly, and had Mushan-Varman provided for, and carefully educated. He grew up intelligent and brave, and received the Raja's daughter in marriage, and with her as dowry a *jagir* in the *pargana* of Pangna, and other large presents. Mushan-Varman was also furnished with an army. and returning to Brahmapura he drove out the invaders and recovered his kingdom.

Nothing is on record about him after his return, but the killing of mice is said to have been prohibited by him on account of the services rendered by these animals in his infancy. This custom still obtains in the Chamba royal family, and a mouse caught in the palace is never killed.

After Mushan-Varman the following Rajas ruled in succession, but nothing is known regarding any of them:—*Hans-Varman*; *Sar-Varman*; *Sen-Varman*; *Sajjan-Varman*; *Mrtyanjaya-Varman*.³

¹ His name is given as Parbogh, but there is no such name in the genealogical roll of Suket.

² The reference is to the *padami* or *urdh relh*—the mark of high descent—a line like the "line of life" on the hand, running along the sole of the foot from the toe to the heel.

³ The name of this Raja is found in a rock inscription at *Proli-ragala* on the Dhaul Dhar, but is not in the *Vansavali*.

Sahila-Varman, c. A. D. 920.—*Sahila-Varman* holds a very conspicuous place in the State annals, for it was he who conquered the lower Ravi Valley, and transferred the seat of government from Brahmapura to the new capital, which he had founded at Champa. It was probably in the beginning of his reign that another invasion of Kulu took place. The war lasted twelve years, and then a peace was patched up. The Kulu people invited the Brahmapura soldiers to a feast which was held at night, and in the darkness the latter were inveigled down to the banks of the Beas near Rahla, where they fell over the precipices and were killed.

Shortly after *Sahila-Varman's* accession Brahmapura was visited by 84 *yogis*, who were greatly pleased with the Raja's piety and hospitality; and, as he had no heir, they promised him ten sons. They were invited to remain in Brahmapura till the prediction was fulfilled, and in due course ten sons were born, and also a daughter, named Champavati.

Meanwhile *Sahila-Varman* had been engaged in extending his rule, and had brought under his sway all the petty Ranas who still held the lower portion of the Ravi Valley. On this expedition he was accompanied by Charpatnath, one of the *yogis*, and also by his queen and daughter. Previous to its occupation by *Sahila-Varman*, the plateau on which the town of Chamba stands was within the domain of a Rana, who had conveyed it in *sasan* or gift to a family of Kanwan Brahmans. Champavati, the Raja's daughter, took a great liking to the place, and asked her father to found a town and make it his capital. *Sahila-Varman* was desirous of acceding to her wish, but all the land fit for building purposes had passed into the hands of the Brahmans, and he was unwilling to dispossess them. At length an arrangement was effected, whereby, in recognition of their proprietary rights, eight *chaklis*—Chamba copper coins—were promised in perpetuity on the occasion of every marriage in the town. The land was then given up, and the above condition has been observed ever since. The Raja then founded the town, and named it Champa after his daughter.¹

An interesting and pathetic legend has come down to us in connection with the settlement of the new capital.

¹ This is the version in the Chronicle, but two other suppositions are possible. The place may have received its name from the Champa tree, which grows in the neighbourhood and even in the town itself, or it may have been named after the more ancient Champa, which stood near modern Bhagalpur in Bihar. It is also possible that the name was already in use in the time of the Ranas.

There was no good and convenient water supply, and the Raja was anxious to meet this need. He therefore had a water-course made from the Sarohta stream round the shoulder of the Shah Madar Hill, behind the town. For some reason the water refused to enter the channel prepared for it, and, in accordance with the superstitious notions of the time, this was ascribed to supernatural causes. The spirit of the stream must be propitiated, and the Brahmans, on being consulted, replied that the victim must be either the *rani* or her son. Another tradition runs that the Raja himself had a dream in which he was directed to offer up his son, whereupon the *rani* pleaded to be accepted as a substitute. The Raja was unwilling to accede to her wish, and wanted to offer some one else, but she insisted that if there must be a sacrifice she should be the victim. Her wish prevailed, and, accompanied by her maidens, and bare-headed as for *sati*, she was carried up the hill to the spot near the village of Balota, where the water-course leaves the main stream. There a grave was dug and she was buried alive. The legend goes on to say that when the grave was filled in the water began to flow, and has ever since flowed abundantly.

Yugakar, the son and successor of Sahila-Varman, mentions his mother's name in the only copper-plate of his reign which has been found. It was Nenna Devi, and she may possibly have been the *rani* referred to.¹ In memory of her devotion a small shrine was afterwards erected by her husband on the spot, at the top of the present flight of steps, where she is said to have sat down to rest. A *mela* was also appointed to be held yearly, from the 15th of Chait to the 1st of Baisakh. It is called the Subi *mela*, and is attended only by women and children of all castes who, in their gayest attire, climb the steps to the shrine, and there sing the *rani's* praises and present their floral offerings. They are entertained at the Raja's expense on this occasion. The steps are not ancient, having been constructed by Rani Sarda, queen of Raja Ajit Singh, A.D. 1794—1808.

There can be little doubt that the legend is founded on fact. Such a sacrifice was quite in keeping with the spirit of the times, and it is noteworthy that the *mela* has been held from time immemorial, affording strong proof of the truth of the story as related. It is significant, too, that, although a death in the royal family during any other *mela* necessitates

¹ The name used by the women attending the yearly *Mela*—called Subian—is Rani Lankesari.

its immediate suspension, this does not apply in the case of the *Suhi mela* which is never interrupted.

Another legend has also been handed down by tradition in connection with the founding of the Champavati or Chamasni Temple, probably the first erected by Sahila-Varman in Chamba. His daughter, Champavati, was of a religious disposition, and used to visit the place of a *sadhu* for conversation. Suspicion was instilled into her father's mind, and he followed her on one occasion with a drawn sword in his hand, only however to find that the house was empty. As he entered, a voice came from the stillness upbraiding him for his suspicions, and telling him that his child had been taken from him as a punishment. He was further commanded to erect a temple to her on the spot where he stood, to atone for his sin, and avert calamity from his house. The temple was accordingly built, and named after his daughter, who is there worshipped as a goddess. It is regarded as the family temple of the Chamba Rajas, and a *mela* has been held in connection with it from time immemorial, from the 1st to the 21st Baisakh. Until recent years it was customary for the ruling Chief to make a daily visit during the *mela* to certain temples in fixed rotation, always starting from and returning to that of Champavati, but this custom has now fallen more or less into disuse. Sahila-Varman also erected several other temples in Chamba, which are still in existence. The earliest of these are believed to have been the Chandragupta and Kameshwara Temples, built for two idols of Siva which the Raja took out of the Sal stream near its junction with the Ravi. This he did while bathing, and under the guidance of Charpatnath.

Of the other temples erected by Sahila-Varman the principal one is that of Lakshmi-Narayana, or Vishnu, in association with which a curious legend has been preserved. Being desirous of raising a temple to Vishnu, the Raja sent nine of his sons to the marble quarries in the Vindhya Mountains, to bring a block of marble for an image. They were successful in this mission, but on beginning to cut the slab it was found to contain a frog. As this was considered to render it unsuitable for the primary purpose for which it was intended, this slab was used in making some smaller images. These were the Trimukha, or three-faced image of Shiva; a small image of Ganpat now in the Chandragupta Temple; and also that of a small goddess, possibly Lakhshmi, wife of Vishnu.

The young princes were sent to bring another block, but were all killed by robbers on their way back. On this news reaching Chamba, Sahila-Varman sent his eldest son, Yugakar, who was also attacked, but receiving help from some Sanyasi gosains, he destroyed the robbers, and returned with a slab, from which the image of Vishnu was made, and set up in the temple prepared for it. Sahila-Varman is also said to have built the Chandrasekhara Temple at Saho, for an idol found in the Sal stream near that place, but this is incorrect.¹

When all the temples were finished, lands were assigned for their support; but no copper-plates of Sahila-Varman's time have yet been found.

The original palace at Chamba must also have been erected by Sahila-Varman, and it doubtless occupied the same site as the present building.

In all matters connected with the settlement of the new capital the Raja was guided by the advice of the *yogi* Charpatnath; and in recognition of this a shrine was afterwards erected to him near the Lakshmi-Narayana Temple, where *pūja* is done morning and evening. This shrine is ascribed to Sahila-Varman, but it probably dates from a later period.

The only coin special to Chamba is the *chakli*, five of which make an anna, and it has been in use in all likelihood from ancient times. On it Sahila-Varman caused to be struck a pierced ear, the symbol of a *yogi*, in honour of Charpatnath, and this has been continued down to the present day. The later Rajas added the Vishnu-pad, or feet of Vishnu, on their coins. There is no tradition of a silver coinage ever having been current, but a silver coin was for a time ascribed to Asata-Varman, c. A.D. 1080.

Sahila-Varman stands out as the most conspicuous personality on the long roll of the Chamba Chiefs; and his name is still a household word throughout the State. Though his son, Yugakar, makes no special reference to him in the copper-plate of his reign, there are reasons for believing that his martial qualities were recognized far beyond the bounds of the State, and that his conquests were not confined to the Ravi Valley. Two copper-plates have come to light in which some of the events of his reign are alluded to; and after making due allowance for hyperbole and exaggeration, it seems probable that the references are founded on fact. The

¹ Recent research has shown that the original temple of Chandrasekhara was erected about the time of Sahila-Varman by a local chief, probably a *rana*, named Satyaki.

first of these plates was granted by Soma-Varman, and the second by Soma and Asata, sons of Salavahana-Varman, they date from A.D. 1056—66, *i.e.*, about 120 years after Sahila-Varman's death, when his name and fame would still be fresh in the memory of the people, and deserve mention in this history. After the customary introduction it runs as follows :—

“ From his residence at the glorious Champaka, the highly devout king (Soma-Varman), an ornament of the spotless house of Sahila-Deva, who (Sahila) was a fresh rain-cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kira forces ; fanned as by the wind by the Lord of Durgara, assisted by the Saumatika ; whose army was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown on his brow ; whose alliance was humbly sought by the ruler of Trigarta, subdued by force ; who was asked the favour of his bestowing royalty in return for services by his kinsman, the Lord of Kuluta, anxious to render him homage ; who by the weight of battle had broken, like a wide-spreading tree, the large force of the Turushka on whom wounds had been inflicted ; who bore the fortunate name of Karivarsa (elephant rain) on account of the continuous and stable generation of his posterity, joyfully granted by the Lord Bhaskara, whose mind was made fully contented with gladness by the gift of a multitude of elephants whose flat cheeks were covered with a swarm of bees, attracted by the scent of the rut-secretion, and which were bestowed in Kurukshetra at the time of an eclipse ; who had made the circuit of the seven worlds fragrant by his fame, painted with the ink-brushes, which were the mouths of all the princes assembled on that occasion ; who by his unequalled kindness and compassion, combined with unsurpassed bravery, generosity, firmness, and unfathomable profoundness has impaired the fame of heroes like the sons of Jamadagni (Parasurama), Sibi, Karna, Yudhishtira ; whose wide-spread greatness, brilliant with matchless and universal effulgence, was renowned like that of Sudarakasvamideva by looking upon whose lovely presence the eyes of the world have been made fruitful ; who by his fury in setting in array a thousand battles, acquired such names as Sahasanka (marked by rashness), Nissankamalla (Dauntless wrestler), and Matamata Sinha (roaring lion).”¹

¹The text is almost exactly the same in both the plates, except that the reference to the Turushka is omitted from the first plate.

With one exception all the names in the quotation are fairly well known, and the references are of great historical interest. As regards the Kira, we have seen that they were a people located in the mountains in the vicinity of the Kashmir Valley. They conquered Brahmapura in the time of Lakshmi-Varman, and they are here represented as having again invaded the State. They were assisted by the Raja of Durgara, the ancient name of Jammu State, of which the present form is Dugar, still in common use. Who the Saumatika were is not quite certain, but most likely the inhabitants of Sumarta, in the Basohli State to the west of the Ravi, are indicated. Kashmir had from ancient times claimed an intermittent suzerainty over the hill tracts as far east as the Ravi; and the formidable array which is represented as advancing against Sahila-Varman was probably meant to assert and uphold this claim. They doubtless anticipated an easy victory, but a crushing defeat awaited them; for they are spoken of as having been dispersed by the Chamba forces as if by a frown on the Raja's brow.

The next reference is to Trigarta, the ancient name of Kangra, which at that early period also included Jalandhar and a large portion of territory on the plains, between the Satluj and the Ravi. We are told that Sahila-Varman's alliance was sought by the Trigarta Chief, after a contest in which Chamba was victorious. With such a name for valour we may well believe that Sahila-Varman's conquests were not confined to the Ravi Valley; and the war with Trigarta suggests the probability of the Chamba Chief having carried his arms to the south of the Dhaula-Dhar, and annexed the whole southern fringe of that range, from the Ravi to Bir-Bangahal. There are said to be many traditions in Kangra pointing to an early occupation of these territories by Chamba. Kuluta is the ancient name of the principality of Kulu, and it owed allegiance to Chamba in the time of Sahila-Varman, as it had done at an earlier period. The two royal families were also connected by marriage.

The reference to the Turushka is in some respects the most interesting of all. This name was applied to all invaders of India from the North-West. Originally used for the Scythians, it came afterwards to have an exclusive reference to the Muhammadans, who from the middle of the seventh century had begun to make their influence felt on the North-West Frontier. The Turki-Shahi dynasty, which had ruled

Kabul and Peshawar for centuries, was overthrown about A.D. 870, by the Brahman Wazir of the last Turki-Shahi king, who founded the Hindu-Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Udabhandapura, now Ohind on the Indus. There this dynasty continued to rule over the kingdom of Gandhara till A.D. 980, and thereafter at Lahore, till finally subdued by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1021.¹ As we learn from the *Rajatarangini*, these kings were in alliance with Kashmir; and also doubtless with other States in the Panjab, which was for a long time in subjection to them. We may, therefore, conclude that contingents were sent by these States to help to oppose the onward advance of the fierce invaders from the west; and it was most probably in one of these frontier wars that Sahila-Varman came into conflict with the Turushka, and gained renown for himself by his valiant deeds.

The reference to Kurukshetra is in full accord with ancient custom in India.²

Sahila-Varman did not spend the last years of his life in Chamba; probably the home of his early days had greater attractions for him. We may well believe that his reign was a long one in view of all that he accomplished; and when his work was done, and old age was creeping upon him, he abdicated in favour of his son, Yugakar, and retired to Brahmapura to spend the evening of his life in peace. There he dwelt as a *sadhu* in the company of Charpatnath and the other *yogis*, many of whose shrines are still pointed out on the small "green" where all the temples stand, and which for this reason is called the "Chaurasi." For the same reason the Chamba State is believed to have been originally sub-divided into 84 *vilugas*, but they are less numerous now.

Yugakar-Varman, A.D. 940.—There is nothing on record in the Chronicle with regard to Yugakar-Varman subsequent to his accession, but a copper-plate deed which bears his name is still extant. It was granted in the tenth year of his reign, and is of interest as being the oldest yet discovered in Chamba. Its interest is enhanced by the fact that Yugakar-Varman refers to his father and mother by name, and also probably to his queen, Tribhuvanarekha Devi. The deed conveyed a grant of land to the Narsingh Temple at Brahmapura, which is spoken of as having been erected by

¹ Bhim-Pal, the last of the line, died in A.D. 1026.

² Kalhana refers to a king of Kashmir visiting Kurukshetra on the occasion of a Solar eclipse, probably that which took place on 23rd July A.D. 1134. *Rajatarangini*, vii, 2220, Stein.

the "Rani," presumably his own or his father's queen. According to tradition Yugakar-Varman himself erected the temple of Ishwar-Gaurja, or Gauri-Shankar, in Chamba, near that of Lakshmi-Narayana.

Vidagdha-Varman, c. A.D. 960.—A copper-plate of this Raja's time is extant. Granted in the fourth year of his reign, it mentions his father, Yugakar-Varman, and his mother, Bhogamati Devi. The Raja speaks of himself as of the house (*gotra*) of Moshuna—a name found in the Brahmaur inscriptions. An inscribed stone, found near Basu, is dated in the first year of Vidagdha-Varman, and was erected by a vassal, probably a rana.

Dodaka-Varman, c. A.D. 980.—In the *Vansavali* Vidagdha-Varman is followed by a Raja named Dogdha-Varman. An inscribed stone recently found near Basu, contains, in consecutive order, the names of Yugakar, Yidagdha; and a third Raja, named Dodaka, by whose order the stone was inscribed. It seems probable that this is the correct form of the name which, in the *Vansavali*, has become corrupted into Dogdha. Dodaka was, therefore, the son of Yidagdha and grandson of Yugakar, and as, in the inscription, he assumes the royal style and titles he must have been the ruling Raja at the time the stone was inscribed. Dogdha, meaning "burnt," is a most unlikely name for a Raja.

Vichitar-Varman, Dhairya-Varman.¹

Salavahana-Varman, c. A.D. 1040.—The name of this Raja does not appear in the *Vansavali*, and his very existence was unknown until the discovery of three copper-plates, in all of which he is mentioned.²

With his reign another interesting period in the history of the State is reached. Kashmir, as we have seen, had from ancient times asserted a claim to the suzerainty of the hill tracts on her borders, as far east as the Ravi. There were probably long intervals during which this claim was in abeyance, or when, as in the time of Sahila-Varman, it was impossible to enforce it; and the State then enjoyed complete independence. This would appear to have been the case from a period anterior to the reign of Sahila-Varman, but it was now near an end. In A.D. 1028, Ananta-Deva succeeded

¹ A younger brother of Vichitar-Varman founded the Bandralta or Ramnagar State now in Jammu.

² The Hari Rai Temple was erected by Salakara, who probably was the same as Salavahana.

as a child to the throne of Kashmir; and when he grew up to manhood the claim of supremacy seems to have been revived, and was resisted by the hill Chiefs. Chamba was then, as we learn from the *Rajatarangini*, under the rule of a Raja named Sala, who for long was identified with Sahila-Varman. It would seem that he refused to yield allegiance to Kashmir, with the result that his country was invaded, and himself defeated, deposed, and probably killed. There is no allusion to this event in the Chronicle, but, for reasons already stated, we may conclude that it occurred not later than A.D. 1060, nor earlier than about A.D. 1050; and Vallapura or Balaar—another small Hill State on the Ravi—was invaded by Ananta-Deva about the same time, and presumably for the same reason.

Two inscribed fountain slabs of the time of Salavahana-Varman were found in the Sai and Tisa *parganas* of Churah, which bear the name of a Raja named Trailokyadeva, the suffix *deva* denoting that he was a ruling Chief. These slabs raise an interesting question regarding the northern boundary of the State at that time. The name Trailokya is not found in the Chamba *Vansavali*, but it occurs in that of Balor (Basohli). The date of one of the slabs is s. 4=A.D. 1028-29, and of the other s. 27=A.D. 1041. One of the slabs was set up by a Rana, who refers to Trilokya-deva in terms which imply that the latter was his overlord, and the other by a Brahman who uses similar language. The dates correspond approximately to the time when Trailokya must have ruled, and the conclusion is therefore justified that Churah, now the northern province of Chamba, was then a part of Balor State.

We learn from the plates that Salavahana had two sons—Soma-Varman and Asata-Varman—who ruled in succession.

Soma-Varman, c. A.D. 1060.—After deposing Salavahana the king of Kashmir is said to have set up another in his place, and that this was Soma-Varman is clear from the plates, though his name, like that of his father, is entirely absent from the *Vansavali*. The first deed is signed by Soma-Varman alone, and was granted in the seventh year of his reign, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, probably September, A.D. 1066. It is on this plate that the signature of Salavahana appears, showing that he had intended to make the grant himself, which he was prevented from doing by his deposition and death. On it the Ranas are also referred to under the name of "Rajanaka," and in such a manner as to indicate that

some of them at least held high offices in the State.¹ The second deed made a grant of land in favour of Siva and Vishnu, and is now in the possession of the Champavati and Hari Rai Temples. It is dated in the first year of Asata's reign, and is signed by both brothers, with an additional grant in the eleventh year, signed by Asata. The long quotation relating to Sahila-Varman is found almost word for word in both of these plates, except the reference to the Turushka, which appears only in the second plate.

Asata-Varman, A.D. 1080.—The first plate of this Raja has already been referred to, and another, the third, in which his father's name is mentioned, was granted in the fifth year of his reign.

Though the *Vansavali* is silent, strong corroborative evidence is furnished by the *Rajatarangini* where it is stated that "Asata, Raja of Champa," visited Kashmir in the winter of A.D. 1087-88, in the reign of Kalasa, son of Ananta-Deva, who, like his father, asserted the claim of suzerainty over Chamba and other Hill States. That this claim was widely acknowledged is proved by the fact that the rulers of seven other hill principalities, from Chamba to Urasha or Hazara, were present in Kashmir at the same time as Asata-Varman. It would thus appear that, after the invasion of Ananta-Deva, the State remained more or less dependent on Kashmir for a considerable period. There were also inter-marriages between the two ruling families, for Kalasa had, as his queen, a sister of Asata, whose name was Bappika, and her son, Harsha, succeeded to the throne on his father's death.

Jasata-Varman, A.D. 1105.—The Chronicle furnishes no information about Jasata-Varman, but he is referred to in the *Rajatarangini* as affording support to Harsha, his own cousin, in A.D. 1101, when Kashmir was invaded by the princes of the Lohara family, who claimed the throne. On that occasion he was taken prisoner by Sussala, in the temple at Vijayeshvara (Bijbehara). He must, however, have been only heir-apparent at that time, as a stone inscription, found at Luj in Pangi, is dated in the first year of his reign, s. 81 = A.D. 1105, which must therefore have been the year of his accession. The use of the Sastra era is noteworthy as being the earliest certain instance yet found in Chamba. As the stone, which formed part of a *panihār*, or cistern, was erected

¹ One held the office of Mahamatya (Prime Minister), another that of Mahakshapatika (Lord Chancellor).

by a vassal, probably a Rana, Pangi, must have been, even at that early period, under the supremacy of Chamba. In A.D. 1112 Jasata is again mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* as supporting Bhikshachara, grandson of Harsha, against Sussala who had then usurped the throne of Kashmir. Being unsuccessful Bhikshachara retired to Chamba, and lived there for four or five years as the Raja's guest. He was evidently unwelcome, as he had difficulty in procuring food and clothing from the Raja. Jasata's reign must therefore have lasted till about A.D. 1117-18. Another inscribed stone of Jasata's reign exists at Loh-Tikri in Churah, and is dated in his ninth year, A.D. 1114.

It is thus evident that Chamba supremacy over Churah had been established, probably by conquest from Balor, about A.D. 1090, and it was still in force in the reign of Lalita-Varman (A.D. 1143—75). This is proved by a fountain-stone containing his name, found at Debi-Kothi in Behra *pargana*, dated in the seventeenth year of Lalita-Varman (A.D. 1159—61). On another stone, in the same fountain enclosure, an inscription occurs containing the name of a Raja named Rana-pala. This name is not found on the Chamba roll, but is present on that of Balor. It would, therefore, seem that at some date later than A.D. 1161 the Balorea Raja had recovered possession of Churah,¹ and his name was inscribed, either by his orders or by the Rana of the time. His son was Ajaya-Pal, as in the Balor *Vansavali*, and his name is also found on another fountain-slab of Lalita-Varman at Sai, dated in A.D. 1169-70. There is no indication in any later inscription as to how long Balor retained possession, but we know that Churah was for centuries a bone of contention between the two States, down almost to the extinction of Balor.

Dhala-Varman, A.D. 1118.—Dhala-Varman is said to have been a brother of the previous Raja, and his reign must have been short.

Udaya-Varman, A.D. 1120.—The name of Udaya-Varman seems to be out of its proper order in the *Vansavali*, for it stands fifth after that of Jasata. As the latter reigned till about A.D. 1118, and Udaya-Varman is mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* as having been in Kashmir in A.D. 1122, it seems improbable that four reigns intervened in such a short period. Chamba had now changed sides in the struggle which was going on for the throne of Kashmir, and Udaya-Varman lent his support to Sussala, who had been opposed by Jasata. The change of attitude was most likely due to the fact that, in

¹ *Churah* is an abbreviation of Chaturasa, the *s* being pronounced as *h*.

the interval, Sussala had espoused two princesses of the Chamba family, whose names were Devalekha and Taralalekha, both of whom became *sati* on the death of Sussala, in A.D. 1128. Kashmir was now in a very unsettled condition, owing to internal dissensions which had been going on for some time. Kalasa, the son of Ananta Deva, was succeeded by Harsha who, with his son Bhoja, was killed in A.D. 1101, and the throne seized by the Lohara Princes, Uchchala and Sussala. On the death of his father and loss of the kingdom, Bhikshachara, son of Bhoja, then a child, was taken away to Malwa. Returning from there in A.D. 1112, he fell in with a party of hill Chiefs at Kurukshetra, among whom was his own relative, Jasata of Champa, and they encouraged him to attempt the recovery of his kingdom. In this he had the support of Champa, Vallapura, and some of the Thakurs in the Chandrabhaga Valley. Being defeated he retired to Champa, where, as already stated, he resided for sometime under the protection of Jasata-Varman. Another attempt in A.D. 1120 resulted in his being restored to power, which, however, he retained only for six months. It is probable that Champa had changed sides previous to this, for when in A.D. 1121-22 Sussala made a successful effort to regain the throne, he had the active support of Udaya-Varman. Kashmir was now on the decline, and these disorders, and the Muhammadan invasions which had been in progress for more than a century, tended to still further weaken its power. Champa seems to have taken advantage of this to assert its independence; at any rate there is no further reference to the State in the *Rajatarangini*.

After Udaya-Varman the following Rajas ruled in succession, but no information about them is available:—*Ajita-Varman*, *Daityari-Varman*, *Prithvi-Varman*.

Lalita-Varman, A.D. 1143.—Two slab inscriptions of this Raja's reign have recently been found. One of these is dated in his 17th year, and records the erection of a *panihar*, or cistern, at Debri-Kothi, by a Rana named Naga-Pala, who states that he had received the title of 'Rajanaka' from the Raja. The other inscribed stone is at Salhi in the Saichu Nala, Pangi, and is dated in the 27th year of Lalita-Varman, s. 46=A.D. 1170. This Raja must therefore have begun to reign in A.D. 1143-44, and may have lived till about A.D. 1175.¹ The second slab—part of a *panihar*—was erected by

¹ The names of two Rajas of Balor—Rana-Pala and Ajaya-Pala—occur on two slabs, one of Lalita-Varman's time and one later, pointing to Churah having been under Balor from about 1175 to the end of the century or later.

a Rana, named Ludar-Pal, whose lineal descendants still hold land in Salhi, as common farmers. In it Pangi is called Pangati, which seems to have been the ancient name of the valley.

Vijaya-Varman, A.D. 1175.—Vijaya-Varman is said to have been brave and warlike, and was much beloved by his people. The Chronicle states that he invaded Kashmir and Ladakh, and brought back much spoil. The State boundaries were enlarged during his reign. If we bear in mind the political condition of Northern India about this period, we shall have little difficulty in understanding the easy success which Vijaya-Varman seems to have gained. In A.D. 1191 Muhammad Ghori invaded India, and was defeated by the confederate Hindu Princes, under the leadership of Prithvi-Raj of Delhi. He returned in A.D. 1193, and, in the great battle which ensued on the banks of the Ghaggar, Prithvi-Raj perished with the flower of his army. In the following year Kanauj also was overthrown, and everywhere confusion and disorder reigned. There is thus little room for surprise that Vijaya-Varman availed himself of the opportunity to extend the boundaries of the State.

He was succeeded by *Raja-Varman*; *Sara-Varman*; *Kirti-Varman*; *Ajita-Varman*; *Madana-Varman*, brother of the previous Raja; *Narakanajar-Varman*; *Asha-Varman*; *Jimut-Varman*.

Vairasi-Varman, A.D. 1330.—Vairasi-Varman is called Vairi-Varman in the *Vansavali*, but a copper-plate deed gives his name as above. It bears the date, Sastra 6, Vik. 1387=A.D. 1330, which was probably the first year of his reign. This is the first plate with a distinct date, and for this reason it is both interesting and important. Vairasi-Varman had probably a long reign, and died about A.D. 1370.

Manikya-Varman, c. A.D. 1370.—The name of this Chief occurs on the copper-plates of his son, Bhot-Varman, the earliest of which is dated in A.D. 1397. We may, therefore, assume that this was the year of his father's death.

Bhot-Varman, c. A.D. 1397.—The earliest plate of this reign has just been referred to, and the latest yet found has the date s. 12=A.D. 1436. There is an allusion to Bhot-Varman's death in a deed granted by his son, from which it appears that this event took place in A.D. 1442.

Sangram-Varman, c. A.D. 1442.—The plates of this reign afford no assistance chronologically, as the dates of all but one are uncertain.

Anand-Varman, c. A.D. 1475.—The only dated plate of this Raja was granted in s. 57=A.D. 1481, but Anand-Varman's reign probably began some years earlier. His mother's name was Sampurna Devi. Anand-Varman was very religious, and was believed to have the power of working miracles. He espoused the daughter of the Raja of Kangra, and in order to test his miraculous powers the dishes at the marriage feast were purposely placed so far from him as to be out of his reach. A vessel with three spouts was also given him to drink from. This, however, caused no inconvenience to the Chamba Chief. Whatever he wanted came towards him of its own accord, and when he took up the glass to drink, snakes protruded from two of the spouts and stopped them, enabling him to use the third. Anand-Varman died about A.D. 1512.

Ganesa-Varman, c. A.D. 1512.—The first plate of this reign was granted in s. 88, Saka 1434=A.D. 1512, and the last in s. 35=A.D. 1559.

Ganesa-Varman's reign was thus a very long one. In several plates the name of his son, Partap-Singh-Varman, occurs, and he is styled 'Yuvaraja' and 'Maharajaputra.' These plates furnish the earliest instances of the use of the suffix 'Singh' in the Chamba family.

Ganesa-Varman built the fort of Ganeshgarh in the Mothila *ilaga*, to protect his frontier, and consolidate his power to the south of the Dhaula Dhar. This was done probably towards the end of his reign, when the signs of the times began to point to the near approach of that Mughal supremacy which was soon to overshadow all the Hill States of the Panjab. Chamba had probably enjoyed complete independence for more than 400 years; for the early Muhammadan rulers of India were too much engrossed in defending or extending their possessions on the plains to attempt the conquest of the inner mountains. Kangra, it is true, was invaded once and again, but there is no evidence that these inroads extended beyond the Savalaks. With the rise of the Mughal power this immunity and freedom came to an end. Akbar the Great, then a boy of 14, ascended the throne in A.D. 1556. When the news of his father's death arrived he

was at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur District, having been engaged in the pursuit of Sikandar Shah Sur, who retreated before him into the hills. Immediately after his accession the young Emperor advanced into the outer hills, and at Nurpur Dharm Chand of Kangra waited upon him and was received into favour. In A.D. 1558, Sikandar Shah emerged from his retreat in the hills, and occupied the fort of Maukot, half way between Pathankot and Nurpur and within the Nurpur State, which he held for eight months; and on its capitulation the Raja of Nurpur, who had sided with him, was taken to Lahore and executed. There were thus good grounds for apprehension on the part of the other States; and it is probable that Mughal influence had begun to make itself felt in Chamba previous to the death of Ganesa-Varman in A.D. 1559.

Ganesa-Varman had six sons, *viz.*, Partap-Singh; Jit-Singh; Bir Bahadur; Hari-Singh; Satargun-Singh; Rupanand-Singh. It is noteworthy that almost all of them bore the suffix 'Singh' which was now coming into general use, but it did not entirely displace the older suffix of Varman for fully half a century, and Partap-Singh-Varman, the next Raja, used both suffixes.

Partap-Singh-Varman, A.D. 1559.—Partap-Singh-Varman is called the son of Ganesa-Varman and Sahib Devi on the copper-plates of his reign, of which there are many extant. He is said to have been very generous, and considerate of the well-being and comfort of his people. This was shown specially in his unwillingness to impose heavy taxation upon them. The Lakshmi-Narayana Temple was in need of repairs, and the erection of other temples was under contemplation; but there was no money in the treasury for this purpose. Partap-Singh-Varman called a council of his officials to ask their advice, and they all recommended the imposition of a tax. This course, however, did not commend itself to the Raja, as it meant a new burden on his subjects. He was much concerned about the matter, but next morning, on taking his seat in Darbar, a man presented himself from the Hul *ilaga* with a piece of copper in his hand, and said that a copper-mine had been discovered near his village. The Raja at once issued orders for the working of the mine, and, with the produce, repaired all the temples, and built some new ones. The mine then became exhausted, or was closed, but the old workings may still be seen.

Soon after this war broke out between Partap-Singh-Varman and the Raja of Kangra, whose name is given as Chandar-Pal. As the suffix of the Kangra Rajas has always been 'Chandra' it is clear that a mistake has crept into the Chronicle. The surname of the Bangahal Rajas was 'Pal,' and it is just possible that the war was with that State, Kangra coming to the assistance of its weaker neighbour. In any case the main struggle seems to have been with Kangra, and it ended in the defeat of the Katoch forces, and the death of Jit-Chand, the younger brother of the Kangra Raja. Much booty in horses and elephants was taken, and Chari and Gharoh, two small districts near the Chamba border, were annexed. Guler, the capital of the Guler State, is said to have been occupied by the Chamba army, and from this it seems probable that the war was also with the Guler branch of the Katoch family of Kangra. In the Sanskrit *Vansavali* the Raja's name is 'Chandra,' and he is called "The king of Nagarkot" (Kangra). There is no mention of Guler.

Partap-Singh-Varman was contemporary with Akbar, and it seems probable that early in his reign the whole of the Hill States, including Chamba, became subject and tributary to the Mughal Empire. Soon afterwards Todar Mal, the great finance minister of Akbar, was deputed by his master to create an Imperial demesne in Kangra by confiscating territory from the various States of the Kangra group. In accordance with his instructions, Todar Mal annexed a large portion of the Kangra Valley, and made a similar demand on each of the other States proportionate to their means. Chamba was compelled to surrender Rihlu and all the territory it then held to the east of that province; as also the two small districts of Chari and Gharoh recently acquired from Kangra. From this time onwards for nearly 200 years Chamba, like the other Hill States, was in subjection to the Empire.

There is some doubt as to how much of Lahul was under Chamba in early times, but it seems probable that from the tenth or eleventh century, if not from an earlier period, the main Chandrabhaga Valley, as far up as Tandi near the junction of the two rivers, was included in State territory. Many traditions are said to exist in Lahul, pointing to this conclusion, and the people of Gus, on the left bank, say that they once owned a copper-plate deed, granted by a Chamba Raja, which was taken from them after the country was annexed to Kulu.

On the right bank these traditions are not so clear, owing probably to the fact that the country was more open to invasion, and must often have changed hands. The rest of Lahul, including the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga, seems to have been under Kulu from early times. In the Kulu annals it is stated that Lahul was conquered by Chamba in the reign of Rudar-Pal, the nineteenth Raja from the founder of the Kulu dynasty, but was recovered by Kulu in the following reign after a hard contest on the Rotang Pass; and though these records are more or less legendary, yet they confirm the conclusion that in early time Lahul was under the rule of Kulu and Chamba. In the middle of the twelfth century Kulu, with the upper portion of Lahul was conquered by Ladakh, and remained subject to that country, more or less, till about A.D. 1660—70. Chamba, however, maintained its supremacy over the greater part of the main valley, and seems also to have gained some influence in upper Lahul, for the Kulu annals state that the territory now embraced in British Lahul, and formerly a part of Kulu, was acquired by that State from Chamba.¹

The latest plates of Partap-Singh-Varman are dated s. 62 = A.D. 1686, and he probably died in the same year. In one of his plates, dated s. 55, Vik. 1635 = A.D. 1579, Balabhadra-Deva, his grandson, is called Yuvaraja and Tikka:² though Vir-Vahnu, his son, was alive, and succeeded to the *gaddi*. The title was probably accorded to both father and son.

Vir-Vahnu, A.D. 1586.—Vir-Vahnu was in power for only four years at the most, as his son, Balabhadra, succeeded in A.D. 1589—the year in which his earliest plate is dated. No plate of this reign has yet been found.

Balabhadra, A.D. 1589.—Balabhadra stands out conspicuous among his compeers on account of his reputed piety, great generosity, and the many legends which are associated with his name. He was profuse in his gifts to Brahmans, and at least 42 copper-plates of his reign are known to be extant. There may be more. By his people he was named Bali-Karna, after two heroes of antiquity famous for their generosity. He bestowed grants of land and other gifts upon Brahmans in a most lavish manner;³ and regarded

¹ Possibly the barons of upper Lahul paid tribute both to Chamba and Kulu.

² This is the earliest instance of the use of the title 'Tikka' in Chamba.

³ Such grants were not confined to Chamba for plates have recently been found in Nurpur and Kangra.

this as his highest and most imperative duty, refusing even to eat each morning till this had been discharged. The grants of his reign are far in excess of those of any other Chamba Chief either before or since. No petitioner was sent away disappointed, and, if a request was made to him, the Raja used to part with any article which was lying near, regardless of its value. He gifted grants of land to the Lakshmi-Narayana Temple, as well as many jewels, and other valuables, some of which are still in existence. Each of them is enclosed in a golden case with an inscription on it, one of these bearing the date, Vik. 1675=A.D. 1619.

These lavish gifts seem to have gone on for some years and to such an extent that the State administration became seriously embarrassed. The officials were much concerned, and tried to dissuade the Raja from such profuse liberality, but their remonstrances only made him angry, and were met by a sharp rebuke. At length, owing to the excessive drain on the treasury, there was difficulty in meeting ordinary and necessary State expenditure. Just then Janardan, the Raja's eldest son, came of age, and the officials begged him to intervene by removing his father from power. This was accordingly done, and Balabhadra was deported to the village of Baraia on the other side of the Ravi, and a house and lands were assigned for his support.

But there also Balabhadra is said to have continued his lavish gifts, and soon the whole of the land assigned him was alienated to Brahmans. As nothing now remained to him but the house he lived in, he was in great straits. Being under the necessity of giving before eating, he began to part with his house at the rate of a foot each morning, and, when in this way a whole verandah or room had been disposed of, he ceased to use it, considering that it was no longer his property. In course of time the whole building was thus gifted away, and the Raja then vacated it, and lived in the open, at the same time refusing to eat. On this being reported to his son, Janardan gave his father a fresh grant of land to enable him to continue his benefactions.

No reference to the deposition is to be found in the Chronicle; but the traditions regarding it are so clear and definite that they must have a foundation in fact. There is some obscurity as to the year in which it took place, but a consideration of all the data available leads to the conclusion that it cannot have been later than A.D. 1613. This con-

clusion is sustained by an existing record, evidently compiled from older documents, in which the period of Balabhadra's deposition is given as Vik. 1670—80=A.D. 1613—23. Some light is thrown on the subject by an examination of the copper-plates of his reign. These are all carefully dated and extend from A.D. 1589 to 1641, the year of his death. Only two marked breaks occur in the regular continuity of these plates, one between A.D. 1599 and 1607, and the other between A.D. 1620 and 1629. In all of them Balabhadra is referred to in terms which imply that he was recognised as Raja; and the grants are not limited to one locality, but are widely distributed, and are still in the possession of the descendants of the original grantees. Another plate recently found was issued by Janardan in A.D. 1613, and in it also Balabhadra is spoken of as Raja. In it Janardan is called "Maharaja Kumara," "Maharajaputra" and "Mie," i.e., Mian,¹ and the fact of the plate having been issued by him points to the conclusion that he was then in authority in the State, and that he only acted as regent, and did not assume full power in his own name. The issue of the plate probably marks the beginning of his regency. In the *Vansavali* Janardan's name is found after that of his father in the regular order of succession.

Shortly after Janardan assumed the government, war broke out between him and the Raja of Nurpur. The cause of this war is not known, but it was probably due to an attempt on the part of the Nurpur Chief to enlarge his borders at the cost of Chamba. At that time, as we know, Jagat-Singh, brother of Suraj-Mal, the then Raja of Nurpur, stood high in the favour of the Emperor Jahangir, and if he originated the war with Chamba, as he is said to have done, he doubtless counted on obtaining support from the Mughal Viceroy of Lahore. It is certain, however, that Jagat-Singh was not Raja of Nurpur at the time the war began, for he did not obtain that position till after the rebellion and death of his brother, Suraj Mal, in A.D. 1618-19.

The war went on in a desultory manner for twelve years without either side gaining any decided advantage; and there seem to have been intervals of peace.² This was the case in A.D. 1618, for we learn from the *Badshahnamah* that, when Suraj-Mal rebelled and was compelled by the Imperial army

¹ The title *Mie*, that is, Mian, borne by Janardan in A.D. 1613 confirms common tradition that it was conferred by Jahangir.

² A copper-plate is extant, by Balabhadra, conferring a *sasan* grant on the *parahit* of Raja Jagat-Singh of Nurpur and dated A.D. 1618.

to flee from Nurpur, he found a temporary refuge in one of the Chamba forts, and ultimately retired to the capital. There he was joined by his younger brother, Madho-Singh, who had for a time defended the Kotla Fort. As the Imperial forces were preparing to advance against Chamba, news came that Suraj Mal was dead. The Mughal Commander then sent a peremptory order to the Chamba Chief to surrender all money and valuables belonging to the deceased Raja on pain of his highest displeasure. This order was complied with, the property being sent through the son and the brother of the Raja. Madho-Singh also was given up. On his brother's rebellion, Jagat-Singh was recalled from Bengal by the Emperor, who conferred on him the *mansab* of 1,000 with 500 horse, the title of Raja, and a present, and he was sent to assist in the siege of Kangra Fort, which was then in progress. He also became Raja of Nurpur in succession to Suraj-Mal. The siege of Kangra Fort ended in its capture in November A.D. 1620, and in January, 1622, Jahangir visited Kangra, coming by Siba and returning by Nurpur. There he was waited on by the hill Chiefs, and among them reference is made in the *Tuzul-i-Jahangiri* to the Raja of Chamba. The reference is as follows:—"At this stage the offering of the Raja of Chamba was laid before me. His country is 25 *kos* beyond Kangra. There is no greater Zamin-dar in these hills than this. The country is the asylum of all the Zamindars of the hills. It has passes difficult to cross. Until now he had not obeyed any king nor sent offerings. His brother also was honoured by paying his respects, and on his part performed the duties of service and loyalty. He seemed to me to be reasonable and intelligent and urbane. I exalted him with all kinds of patronage and favour." The Raja referred to was probably Janardan, with his brother, Bishambhar. Hostilities seem to have been resumed with Chamba soon afterwards, and ultimately the Mughal Viceroy espoused the cause of Jagat-Singh, and sent troops to his support. A decisive battle was fought at Dhalog on the Sandhara Road; the Chamba army was defeated, and Bishambhar, Janardan's brother, was killed. Jagat-Singh then advanced on the capital, which he captured and sacked, while Janardan, unable to offer any effective resistance, fled. A treacherous message was then sent him by Jagat-Singh, offering terms of peace if he would present himself in Darbar to discuss them. Janardan, suspecting nothing, accepted the invitation, and came with only a few

followers. While they were engaged in conversation, Jagat-Singh suddenly drew his dagger and plunged it into Janardan's breast, inflicting a mortal wound. The latter also had a dagger in his waistbelt, but the handle was tied to the sheath by a cord, so that he could not draw it in time to defend himself. Owing to this the Chamba Rajas have ever since worn the dagger loose in the sheath. The date of Janardan's death was probably in A.D. 1623. The fact of his having been killed by Jagat-Singh is confirmed by a statement to that effect in the *Badshahnamah*. This tragedy is said to have taken place in the Palace at Chamba.

In the *Vansavali* it is stated that Janardan left no heir, but his *rani* was *enccinte*, and that, on learning this, Jagat-Singh gave orders that a strict watch should be kept on the palace. If the infant proved to be a boy he was at once to be killed, and if a girl she was to be married into the Nurpur family so as to strengthen his hold on the State. When the child, afterwards Prithvi-Singh, was born, his nurse, named Batlu, is said to have smuggled him out of the palace, without the knowledge of the guards, and conveyed him away to Mandi. Recent research has shown that the birth-story is not quite correct. A second plate, granted by Janardan and dated Māgh, s. 1595=February A.D. 1619, records a *sasan* grant to a Brahman on the occasion of the birth of his son, Prithvi-Singh, who must, therefore, have been born before his father's death. There is, however, no reason to doubt the fact of his having been conveyed away to Mandi.

On Janardan's death the State became subject to Jagat-Singh, and is said to have been ruled by his officials for twenty years.

He built the fort of Taragarh within Chamba territory as there was no site so good in his own country. This fort is said to have received its name from the fact that a farmer, named Tara, was buried alive beneath the foundations as a sacrifice to ensure its stability, according to a custom common in India in former times. The stronghold occupied a conspicuous position on the summit of an almost inaccessible hill near the Chamba-Nurpur frontier, and its ruins are still visible from a distance. It stood Jagat-Singh in good stead at the time of his own rebellion in A.D. 1641.¹

¹ Taragarh consisted of three forts, one above another, the highest being perched on the summit of the hill. It covered an area of about 30 acres, and had 12 fortified gateways.

Some uncertainty still exists regarding the status of Balabhadra during the period of Nurpur supremacy, but it seems probable that on Janardan's death he was restored to power, and continued till his death to rule the State in subjection to Jagat-Singh. No plates have yet been found of the years from A.D. 1620 to 1629. From A.D. 1629, however, the issue of plates was resumed and continued till the early spring of A.D. 1641. His death must have occurred soon afterwards, shortly before the return of his grandson, Prithvi-Singh, in the summer of the same year. The record containing the date of his deposition states that he died in Vik. 1699 = A.D. 1642, but this is probably incorrect. In the other plates two other sons are referred to by name—Man-Singh and Sudar-Sen—and the names of other sons have been handed down by tradition.

Prithvi-Singh, A.D. 1641.—After he grew up to manhood Prithvi-Singh, who was still in Mandi, only awaited a favourable opportunity to strike a blow for the recovery of his kingdom. The opportunity came in A.D. 1641, when Jagat-Singh, in conjunction with his son, Rajrup-Singh, raised the standard of rebellion against Shahjahan.

On the news of the outbreak reaching the Imperial ear, a large army under the command of Prince Murad Bakhsh, youngest son of the Emperor, with many able captains, was sent to suppress it, and assembled at Pathankot, in August, A.D. 1641.

The Chronicle makes no mention of Jagat-Singh's rebellion, but it was doubtless on hearing of it that Prithvi-Singh asked and obtained help in money and troops from the Rajas of Mandi and Suket, to enable him to recover his kingdom. Passing through Kulu, he crossed the Rotang Pass into Lahul, and, advancing by way of Pangri, crossed the Cheni Pass into Churah, the northern province of the State. This he reconquered and fought his way to the capital, which he captured, expelling the Nurpur officials from the country. We may assume that these events occurred in the summer of A.D. 1641, for early in December of that year Prithvi-Singh was present in the Mughal camp near Pathankot and was sent on to the Imperial Court, probably then in Lahore, to pay his respects to the Emperor.

Jagat-Singh offered a brave resistance to the overwhelming force sent against him. He had long been preparing for a

struggle, and had strongly fortified the three principal strongholds in his territory. These were Maukot, Nurpur and Taragarh. All the hill passes and ways of approach were also blocked and defended by his troops. Maukot was only a fortified enclosure with dense jungle around it, but it was a position of great strength.¹ Jagat-Singh decided on making his first stand there, while Nurpur was entrusted to some of his officers. Both of these forts were invested by the Imperial army in the middle of October, and the siege was pressed with great vigour.² By the middle of December Jagat-Singh's position in Maukot had become untenable, so he abandoned it and, along with his sons, fled to Taragarh. Two days afterwards the defenders of Nurpur also evacuated that fort, on hearing of the fall of Maukot.³

All this we learn from the *Badshahnamah*, and, though the narrative does not actually say so, it seems to imply that Prithvi-Singh was present at the siege of Maukot or Nurpur. It is as follows:—"On the 23rd of Ramzan (16th December, A.D. 1641), the high-born prince (Prince Murad Bakhsh), in accordance with the sublime orders, sent Prithvi-Chand, the Zemindar of Champa, whose father had been killed by the outcast Jagat-Singh, and who was at this time enrolled among the royal servants, on the recommendation of the ministers of the State, to the royal threshold, the abode of great kings, along with Alla Vairdi Khan and Mir Buzurg, who had gone to bring him,"

"Prithvi-Chand, the Zemindar of Champa, was honoured with a *khilat*, an inlaid dagger, the title of 'Commander of one thousand,' and the actual command of four hundred horsemen, the title of Raja and a horse. As the mountain on which Jagat-Singh had laid the foundations of the fort of Taragrah was in Chamba, and had been taken by the Raja with violence, and as the back of the fort joined on to the above-mentioned territory, and had in that direction an eminence commanding it, the possession of which was essential to the taking of the fort, he was ordered to go home that he might make the necessary preparations to

¹ Maukot was situated about half way between Pathankot and Nurpur, on a ridge of low hills running to the east of the Chakki. The place is near Raja ka Bagh, and is still called Mauwa da ban, but only vestiges of the fortifications now remain. It is called the "Fort of Mau" in the *Badshahnamah*, and was built by Islam-Shah, son of Sher-Shah Sur, A.D. 1545—53.

² During the siege Rajrup-Singh was sent to the Mughal camp under a safe conduct with a letter to the Emperor proposing terms of surrender, but they were not accepted.

³ Maukot was captured on 13th December and Nurpur on 15th December, A.D. 1641.

deliver an attack with a proper force from the back of the fort, and, capturing the eminence, reduce the besieged to straitened circumstances." It was probably in consequence of this order that Prithvi-Singh sent to Sangram-Pal of Basohli for help, for which he surrendered to Basohli the *pargana* of Bhalai.¹

As soon as arrangements were complete, the Imperial army, in the end of December, advanced to the assault of Taragarh. On his return from Chamba with his force, Prithvi-Singh took up his position on the ground assigned him, in conjunction with Raja Man-Singh of Gwalior (Guler), who is spoken of as "the mortal enemy of Jagat-Singh." By the beginning of March, A.D. 1642, the garrison was reduced to great straits, and Jagat-Singh, realising that his cause was hopeless, sued for pardon, and in company with his sons surrendered himself to the clemency of the Emperor. They appeared in Darbar with halters round their necks, and, after making their submission, were not only pardoned but restored to all their honours. On the conclusion of the war, Taragarh was taken over by the Mughals and garrisoned with Imperial troops.

The account of these occurrences in the Chamba Chronicle is as follows:—"On recovering his kingdom, Prithvi-Singh determined to avenge himself on Jagat-Singh. He, therefore, concluded a league with Sangram-Pal of Basohli, and surrendered to him the *pargana* of Bhalai, after which both Rajas went to the Mughal Viceroy at Kalanaur to ask help. This was granted on condition that Jagat-Singh should be taken alive, and made over to the Viceroy. The Rajas with their forces then advanced upon Nurpur which they assaulted and captured, but the final assault having been made at night, Jagat-Singh escaped in the darkness to Taragarh, where he was taken a month afterwards and sent on to the Viceroy, seated on a buffalo with his face backwards."

Having recovered his kingdom, Prithvi-Singh next addressed himself to its consolidation and extension. His advance through Pangri had made him personally acquainted with that valley, which was still under the rule of the local Ranas subject to the supremacy of Chamba. These he displaced, and appointed his own officials, thus bringing the

¹ For some reason unknown Prithvi-Singh, in A.D. 1648, claimed the retrocession of Bhalai, and his claim was upheld by the Imperial delegate, though not enforced till the following reign.—*Vide Bhuri Singh Museum Catalogue, Appendix IV, c. 1, 2, 3, 4.*

As Sangram-Pal was then only 14 years old it is improbable that he was present at the siege, and his name is not mentioned in the records.

country directly under State control. A rock inscription bearing his name exists between Kilar and Sach, where the river flows through a narrow gorge, and it probably records the fact that in s. 18=A.D. 1642, the precipice was cut away by his orders for the construction of a road. He was the first to build *Kothis*, or State offices, in Churah and Pangi.

Soon after the capture of Taragarh and the end of the war a dispute began between Prithvi-Singh and Sangram-Pal of Basohli about the *pargana* of Bhalai, which had been made over to Sangram-Pal for assistance against Jagat-Singh.¹ We do not know the terms of the agreement between the two Chiefs, but evidently Prithvi-Singh claimed a restoration of the *parganas*. The dispute was finally settled by a Mughal officer in A.D. 1648, in favour of Chamba.

After completing the consolidation of his kingdom, Prithvi-Singh went on pilgrimage to Prayag, Kashi and Gaya. He is also said to have visited Delhi nine times in the reign of Shahjahan, and to have been received with much favour—a *jagir* in Jaswan, of Rs. 16,000 value, being granted him by the Emperor, which continued to be attached to the State for ninety years.² This *jagir* was really that of Dun and Nadaun in Kangra, which was withdrawn in the reign of Raja Ugar-Singh. There are still in the Toshakhana many valuable presents, especially inlaid daggers, and a jewelled *sirpaich* with a large sapphire in it, which were received by Prithvi-Singh on the occasion of his visits to Delhi. The family idol of the Chamba Rajas, called Raghubir, is said to have been obtained from Shahjahan on one of these occasions. It had originally been used as a weight in the Mughal Palace.

Tradition says that Prithvi-Singh was a very handsome man, and his fame spread through Delhi to such a degree that the ladies of the royal zanana begged to be allowed to see him. He was accordingly led blind-folded into the harem that they might have their wish gratified.

Prithvi-Singh had eight sons, whose names were :—Shatru-Singh, Jai-Singh, Indar-Singh, Mahipat-Singh, Raghunath-Singh, Ram-Singh, Shakat-Singh and Raj-Singh. From this time onwards the old suffix of Varman was entirely dropped.

¹ The vernacular chronicle states that two *parganas*—Bhalai and Jundh—were made over to Basohli.

² The *jagir* granted to Prithvi-Singh was within the Kangra State, all of which was annexed by Jahangir on the capture of the fort, except the Rajgir *jagir* for the Raja.

NOTE.—The inscription is :—*Is patthar pati ki likhiri haun mari kari likhi*,—this rock inscription I wrote at the risk of my life.

Among the Gaddi Khattris of Brahmaur there is a tradition that their ancestors fled from Lahore in the time of Prithvi-Singh to escape the persecutions of Aurangzeb. It is probable, however, that this took place at a much earlier period.¹

The temples of Khajinag at Khajiar, Hidimba at Mahla, and Sita-Ram at Chamba, are believed to have been erected in this reign by Batlu, the nurse who was the means of saving Prithvi-Singh's life.²

Chatar-Singh, A.D. 1664.—This Raja's name was Shatru-Singh, as appears from the copper-plates, but Chatar-Singh is the name in common use. On his accession, he appointed Jai-Singh, his brother, to the office of Wazir, and sent him to Sangram-Pal of Basohli, to demand the restoration of the Bhalai *ilaga*, alienated by his father. This demand being refused, Chatar-Singh, it is said, invaded Basohli and re-annexed Bhalai to Chamba. The decision recorded in the reign of Raja Prithvi-Singh does not seem to have been accepted by Sangram-Pal or carried into effect; hence Chatar-Singh's summary method of settlement, which was confirmed by a *sanad* of Mir Khan, Governor of the Panjab, in A.D. 1666. He visited Pangi, and carried his arms lower down the Chandrabhaga Valley, into Padar, which had till then remained in the possession of its Ranas, though probably under the suzerainty of Chamba. These he removed from all authority and appointed his own officils. He also founded a town on the plain, and named it Chatargarh. Being an emporium of the Central Asian trade, a good deal of which then passed through Nurpur and Chamba to Zanskar and Ladakh, the town grew and flourished until A.D. 1836, when it was completely destroyed by the Dogras, and the name changed to Gulabgarh.

In A.D. 1678, the Emperor Aurangzeb issued an order for the demolition of all Hindu temples in the State. Chatar-Singh refused to render obedience, and directed that a gilt pinnacle should be put on each of the chief temples in Chamba as a mark of defiance. On hearing this the Emperor was greatly incensed, and summoned the Raja to Delhi. Instead of going himself he sent his brother, Shakat-Singh, who was accompanied by Raj-Singh of Guler, but for some reason

¹ In connection with this tradition the following popular rhyme is of interest:—
Ujriya Lahor : Vasiya Brahmor.
Lahore became waste : Brahmor was peopled.

² She also built a bridge over the Ravi at Nelhora near Chamba, called Dukura sou, or Daku's bridge, so named after her husband.

unknown they turned back from Bajwara, before reaching Delhi. Chatar-Singh seems to have been able to allay the Emperor's wrath, but there is no record as to how the matter was finally settled. The gilt pinnacles remain on the temples to the present day.

At that time Mirza Rezia Beg, the Suba or Viceroy of the Panjab, who resided chiefly at Kalanaur, used to make incursions into the hills, and greatly annoyed the hill Chiefs. This led to a confederation being formed against him, in which were included Chatar-Singh of Chamba, Raj-Singh of Guler, Dhiraj-Pal of Basohli and Kirpal-Deo of Jammu. Jammu sent a force of Pathan troops, and the confederate army defeated that of the Viceroy, enabling the Chiefs to recover the territory they had lost.

It was probably in the beginning of Chatar-Singh's reign that Lahul was finally divided between Chamba and Kulu.¹ Till then, as we have seen, Chamba territory extended up to the junction of the Chandra and Bhaga; the remainder of Lahul being under Kulu and subject to Ladakh. In consequence of the invasion of Ladakh by Eastern Tibet in A.D. 1646-47 the power of the former country was much weakened, and Raja Bidhi-Singh, of Kulu, A.D. 1668—74, took advantage of this to throw off his allegiance and expel the Ladakhi officials from Lahul. Soon afterwards Chamba lost the upper part of the main valley. The Kulu annals state that Lahul was acquired as dowry with a Chamba princess, but this is improbable. It seems more likely that the transfer of territory was the result of war and conquest, as is hinted at in the local tradition of Kulu. There seems to be no authority for the statement that Gugé in upper Kanawar had gained a footing in Lahul, and that Chamba and Kulu combined to expel the invader and then divided the country between them.²

Chatar-Singh died in A.D. 1690, leaving two sons: Udai-Singh and Lakshman-Singh.

Udai-Singh, A.D. 1690.—Udai-Singh's reign began auspiciously. The young Raja was well-read and accomplished, the people were happy and contented, and the country was prosperous. Jai-Singh, brother of the late Raja, seems to have retained the office of Wazir throughout the previous reign,

¹ Vide *Kulu, Lahul and Spiti*, page 39. Raja Udai-Singh (A.D. 1690), visited Lahul in the early part of his reign, possibly in connection with the boundary dispute with Kulu, and Udaipur near Triloknath was named after him.

² Vide *Appendix IV, Chamba Museum Catalogue*;

and he was re-appointed by Udai-Singh. Much of the prosperity which the State enjoyed seems to have been due to his able administration, and it continued while he lived. He died, however, shortly after Udai-Singh's accession. About the same time Raj-Singh of Guler also died, and was succeeded by his son, Dalip-Singh, a minor, to whom Udai-Singh had been appointed guardian. Taking advantage of Dalip-Singh's minority, the Rajas of Jammu, Bhadu and Basohli invaded Guler, and Udai-Singh was appealed to for help. He sent to Siba, Kahlur and Mandi, and with the co-operation of these States drove out the invaders, and restored the infant Raja to his rights.

So far all had gone well, and how long this prosperity continued we do not know, but dark days were now at hand. Udai-Singh was of a self-willed disposition, and after his uncle's guiding hand and wise counsel were withdrawn, his natural tendencies began to assert themselves. He gradually gave way to evil courses, and surrendered himself to sensual pleasures, which alienated from him the loyalty of his people. The administration of the State became more and more disorganised, and at length a climax was reached when Udai-Singh appointed a barber, with whose daughter he had fallen in love, to the office of Wazir, and resigned all authority into his hands. The officials then interfered and deposed him from power, in the hope that this would have a salutary effect. Meantime Ugar-Singh, son of Mahipat-Singh and cousin of the Raja, was appointed regent. At the end of a month Udai-Singh was restored, but he soon relapsed into his former ways; and Ugar-Singh being afraid, fled to Jammu. Things went from bad to worse until at last the officials formed a conspiracy against the Raja, and determined to kill him, and put Lakshman-Singh, his younger brother, on the *gaddi*. Lakshman-Singh, on being approached, fell in with their designs, and joined the conspirators. To carry out their purpose, a day was fixed when Udai-Singh was to hunt at Udaipur, a large plain on the left bank of the Ravi, three miles below Chamba. About mid-day they began firing their guns, and Udai-Singh, realising danger, came out of his tent with a sword in his hand. Seeing a few of his personal servants standing near, he called on them to rally around him. Touched by his appeal, and repenting of the part he was playing, Lakshman-Singh abandoned the conspirators, and took his stand beside his brother. On this the officials ordered Lakshman-Singh to be killed first and then the Raja was

mortally wounded. He died in a few days. The spot on which this tragedy took place has remained uncultivated to the present time.

Udai-Singh died in A.D. 1720, after having reigned for thirty years. He left no heir to succeed him, and Lakshman-Singh seems also to have died childless.

Ugar-Singh, A.D. 1720.—As has been stated, Ugar-Singh acted as regent for a time during his cousin's suspension from power, but on Udai-Singh's restoration he took refuge in Jammu. There he entered the service of Dhrub-Dev, Raja of Jammu, as a soldier, without disclosing his identity. One day as he was returning from bathing in the river Tawi, with a *lota* full of water in his hand, he was met by a *mast* elephant which had broken loose, and which, seeing Ugar-Singh, suddenly charged down upon him. He checked the animal for a moment by a blow with the *lota*, and thus gained time to draw his sword, with which he severed the trunk from the body at one blow. The feat was reported to the Raja, who summoned Ugar-Singh to his presence, and elicited from him the fact of his near relationship to the ruling family of Chamba. He seems in fact to have been next in the succession after the two sons of Chatar-Singh, his uncles Jai-Singh and Indar-Singh having probably died childless.

Shortly afterwards intelligence of the assassination of Udai-Singh and his brother arrived, and Dhrub-Dev then furnished Ugar-Singh with all necessary assistance, and sent him back to Chamba where he was installed as Raja.

It is said that the ghost of the murdered Raja used to appear to Ugar-Singh, and cause him much distress, and that to lay the evil spirit he erected a temple at Udaipur, near the place of the murder, and imposed a small tax for its maintenance. The temple is still in existence and the tax, called *Tirsera Udai-Singhiana Autariana*¹ is still collected.

Shortly after his accession, Ugar-Singh had his suspicions aroused against his cousin, Dalel-Singh, son of Raghunath-Singh, who was then a boy, residing with his maternal uncle in Jammu territory; and the Mughal Viceroy on being appealed to, had Dalel-Singh brought to Lahore and kept in confinement.

Ugar-Singh was popular at first, but as years went on the feelings of the officials towards him underwent a change,

¹*Autariana* from *autar*=*aputra*—one who has died without a son, and is believed to have become an evil spirit.

and they decided to depose him and raise Dalel-Singh to the *gaddi*. Their first step was to gain over the Viceroy by a present of a lakh of rupees, whereby Dalel-Singh's release was secured, also a *sanad* appointing him Raja of Chamba. This appointment was supported by a force of Mughal troops. On hearing of Dalel-Singh's approach, Ugar-Singh made no effort to oppose him, but broke down the bridge over the Ravi, and set fire to the town. He then retired to the Chamunda Temple, whence he watched the conflagration, and thereafter fled up the Ravi Valley. When passing the village of Juh in Chanota, he was wounded in the thigh by a bullet fired by the Rana of Gurola, and the spot where this happened has been marked by a small shrine ever since. Ugar-Singh then fled to Kangra, where he soon afterwards died. The *jagir* of Dun and Nadaun granted to Raja Prithvi-Singh was resumed in his reign owing to unfaithfulness. He left two sons, Umed-Singh and Sher Singh, who were then quite young.

Dalel-Singh, A.D. 1735.—Having secured the *gaddi* the new Raja's first care was to have Ugar-Singh's sons placed under lock and key in Lahore, where they remained for thirteen years. Dalel-Singh also rewarded those who had helped him to obtain the kingdom, and made himself popular by remitting various oppressive taxes.

Nevertheless the sons of Ugar-Singh, as the rightful heirs to the throne, had many friends and supporters among the people, who only waited for a suitable opportunity to restore them. In spite of every effort, however, it was found impossible for some time to effect their release, but at length this was secured through a servant of Umed-Singh, belonging to the Katwalu family in Chamba. This young man was of the same age as his master, and strongly resembled him in appearance; and, the two having exchanged clothes, Umed-Singh escaped, the servant remaining in his place. When the deception was discovered the man was brought before the Mughal Viceroy, who asked him why he had thus forfeited his life. For answer he said that he had only done his duty to his master, and was ready to bear the penalty. The Viceroy was so pleased with this reply, and with the man's fidelity and devotion, that he ordered his release, and dismissed him with presents. But Umed-Singh did not succeed in escaping after all, for he was recaptured, and brought back to Lahore. On enquiry, however,

the Viceroy became acquainted with the fact that he was the rightful heir to the Chamba *gaddi*, and a *sanad* was therefore granted, along with an armed force, to enable him to recover his territory. Being married to a daughter of the Raja of Jasrota, Umed-Singh came by way of Jasrota and Basohli, obtaining further assistance from these Chiefs. Dalel-Singh was urged by his officials to prepare for resistance, but he refused to do so, saying that Umed-Singh was the lawful heir, and he would not oppose his claim. He accordingly remained at the capital, and on Umed-Singh's arrival surrendered the State into his hands, and was kindly dealt with. For a time he continued to reside in Chamba, but afterwards became a *sadhu*, and died at Jwalamukhi. He left no son, and his daughter was married to Bajai-Deo of Jammu. The *jagir* of Nadaun in Kangra, granted to Raja Prithvi-Singh soon after his accession, had been resumed in Raja Ugar-Singh's reign owing to unfaithfulness. In A.D. 1744 the *ilaga* of Pathiyar in Kangra, valued at Rs. 9,500, was granted in *jagir* to Raja Diler-Singh,¹ by a *sanad* under the seal of Zakaria Khan, Governor of the Panjab, for Muhammad Shah of Delhi, and was continued to Raja Umed-Singh.²

Umed-Singh, A.D. 1748.—Umed-Singh was a just ruler and an able administrator. He succeeded to the State at a very momentous period in Indian history. The Mughal Empire was now in the throes of dissolution; the Viceroys of the provinces were assuming independence, and the Marathas and Afghans had begun their life and death struggle for the mastery of India. All paramount authority was thus at an end, and the hill Chiefs, taking advantage of the anarchy which prevailed, threw off their allegiance, and recovered all the territory of which they had been deprived by the Mughals. A large and fertile district of the Chamba State, to the south of the Dhaula Dhar, had been thus confiscated; Umed-Singh re-asserted his sway over it, and carried his victorious arms along the southern slopes of the range as far as the borders of Bangahal. His troops garrisoned the fort of Pathiyar near Palampur, and he

¹ The real name was Diler-Singh, as in the Mughal *sanads* of his reign.

² The vernacular Bausauli states that the *jagir* granted to Raja Prithvi-Singh in Nadaun was resumed in Ugar-Singh's reign. It was lost by Raja Ugar-Singh's disobedience, and a new *jagir* was granted to Raja Dalel-Singh in Pathiyar which was seized at a later date by Ghamand Chand of Kangra. It was originally in the possession of a Rana family.—*Chamba Gazetteer, Appendix V, c. 6-7-10-11-13-15.*

is said to have obtained a footing in Bir-Bangahal. In the Kangra Settlement Report, Mr. Barnes refers to a letter from the Emperor Ahmad Shah to the Chamba Chief, remonstrating with him on the seizure of Chari. The letter is still in the State archives, but is from Ahmad Shah Durani. It is dated in A.D. 1762, and it must have been between 1750 and 1760 that the State territory to the south of the Dhaula Dhar was restored to its ancient limits. It probably took place after A.D. 1752, for in that year Mughal supremacy entirely ceased with the cession of the Hill States, along with the rest of the Punjab, to Ahmad Shah Durani. But Afghan rule was never more than nominal in the hills to the east of the Jehlam, and Chamba seems to have enjoyed practical independence till about A.D. 1767, when it came more or less under the influence of the Sikhs.¹

The Khanchandi portion of the palace, which is still in existence, was erected by Umed-Singh, and he also built a palace at Nada, eight miles down the Ravi Valley, changing the name of the place to Rajnagar. There his son, Raj Singh, was born in A.D. 1755. Only one gateway of this building now remains.²

Umed-Singh died on the 13th of Baisakh, Vik. 1820=, A. D. 1764, in the 39th year of his age, and the 16th of his reign. He left orders that no *rani* was to become *sati* at his funeral.

Raj-Singh, A.D. 1764.—Raj-Singh was only nine years old at the time of his father's death, and Umed-Singh, being suspicious of the designs of his younger brother, had left secret orders that, immediately on his own decease, Sher-Singh should be arrested and kept under restraint. This was done, and all danger was thus averted.

Soon after this, Ghamand-Chand of Kangra, taking advantage of Raj-Singh's minority, seized the fort of Pathiyar, and drove the Chamba troops out of Bir-Bangahal, but the queen-regent, who was a Jammu princess, obtained help from Ranjit-Dev of that State, and recovered the territory which had been lost. It would appear, however, that another and more successful attempt was made by the Kangra Chief, for all the State territory to the east of Rihlu was lost to Chamba prior to the death of Raj-Singh.

¹ For a short time in 1758 all the Hill States, and even the Mughal Governor of Kangra, were subject to Adina Beg Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab, under the Marathas.

² The foundations of the Rang Mahal at Chamba are also said to have been laid by this Raja.

Ranjit-Dev of Jammu seems to have interfered a great deal in Chamba affairs during the minority of Raj-Singh, owing to his near relationship to the Raja's mother. He probably aimed at bringing the State entirely under his own supremacy. On the decline of Mughal rule, Ranjit-Dev had also become practically independent, and, not content with his own ancestral possessions, had asserted his sway over all the Hill States between the Chenab and the Ravi. As has been stated, his influence was felt as far east as Chamba where he had appointed one of his own officials, named Aklū, to the office of Wazir. While the queen-mother lived things remained quiet, but she died soon after Raj-Singh came of age, and, her influence being withdrawn, the young prince—who disliked Aklū, and probably suspected secret designs against the State,—had him seized and thrown into prison. This was resented as a personal insult by Ranjit-Dev, who sent an army under Amrit-Pal of Basohli to invade Chamba.¹ Raj-Singh was absent at the time, having gone to interview the Viceroy of the Punjab² at Kalanaur. He heard of the invasion at Nurpur on his way back; and at once sent to the Ramgarhia Sardars to ask assistance, for which he paid a lakh of rupees. With their help he drove out the Jammu army after it had been in possession of his capital for three months. This took place in A.D. 1775, and is the first reference to the Sikhs in the State annals.

Durani rule, which had always been intermittent, came to an end in the Central and Eastern Panjab after the last invasion of Ahmad Shah in A.D. 1767. The Sikhs then rapidly acquired political power, and their marauding bands roamed about the country, intent only on plunder and rapine. They had by this time formed themselves into the twelve *misl*s, or confederacies, which preceded their consolidation into one kingdom under Ranjit-Singh. One of these was the Ramgarhia *misl*, and Jassa-Singh, the head of this confederacy, seems to have been the first Sikh leader to invade the Kangra Hills. About A.D. 1770 he made tributary to himself Ghamand-Chand of Kangra and several other Hill States, one of which was probably Chamba. This is, in all likelihood, the reason why Raj-Singh went

¹ There is a copper-plate in existence granted by Amrit-Pal on this occasion in place of one which had been lost. It is dated Vik. 1831 = A.D. 1775.

² Probably Khwaja Obed, the Afghan Viceroy.

to him for help against Jammu. His authority was, however, of brief duration, for in A.D. 1776 he was defeated on the plains by Jai-Singh, of the Kanheya *misl*, who then assumed the suzerainty of most of the Kangra group of States. In the Kangra Settlement Report, Mr. Barnes refers to a document in his name fixing the amount of tribute payable by Chamba at 4,001 rupees.

Raj-Singh was married to a daughter of Sampat-Pal of Bhadrawah, and his son, Jit-Singh, was born in A.D. 1775.

In A.D. 1782 Raj-Singh invaded and conquered Basohli,¹ but restored the country on payment of a lakh of rupees, the amount he had paid for the assistance of the Sikhs against Basohli and Jammu. Bhadrawah² was at this time tributary to Chamba, as it probably had been for a considerable period. It was, however, under its own native ruler, whose name was Daya-Pal.

In A.D. 1786 Chamba also asserted its supremacy over the Native State of Kashtwar on, it is said, the invitation of Brij-Raj-Deo of Jammu; and an army under Jit-Singh, son of Raj-Singh, then only eleven years old, was sent to invade the territory. In this it was successful, and Kashtwar was conquered and held for six months, during which the Chamba troops remained in the capital. They seem to have been withdrawn on the approach of winter, and the return of the Kashtwar Chief from Kashmir, whither he had fled, with an army provided by the Durani rulers, who then held the valley. The conquest of Kashtwar is confirmed by the chronicle of that State.

Meanwhile events fraught with disastrous consequences to the Chamba Chief were ripening in Kangra. On the decline of the Mughal Empire, Ghamand-Chand of Kangra resumed possession of the portion of the Kangra State which was still in the possession of the Mughals: and also made strenuous efforts to capture the Fort, in which he was not successful. This famous stronghold was held by Nawab Saif Ali Khan, the last of the Mughal Governors of the Kangra Hills, who, we are told, continued to correspond directly with Delhi. Though completely isolated, and possessing nothing but the lands immediately beneath the walls, this brave officer contrived to hold his own against

¹ The date of the conquest of Basohli is recorded on a marble slab, in the pavement in front of the Lakshmi Narayana Temple at Chamba.

² This is the correct spelling of the Bhadrawar of the maps.

all assailants for forty years. In A.D. 1775 Sansar-Chand, grandson of Ghamand-Chand, succeeded to the Kingdom of Kangra. His great ambition was to capture Kangra Fort, and he redoubled his efforts to regain possession of the ancient capital of his kingdom. Being still unsuccessful, he in 1781-82 called in to his help Jai-Singh Kanheya, the Sikh Chieftain already referred to, and a force was sent under his son, Gurbakhsh-Singh. The old Nawab was then still alive but dangerously ill, and in 1783 on his demise the garrison was induced to capitulate but, much to Sansar-Chand's chagrin and disappointment, the capitulation was made to the Sikhs and not to himself.¹ Jai-Singh thus got possession of the stronghold and retained it till A.D. 1786, when, being defeated on the plains by a combination against him aided by Sansar-Chand, he withdrew from the hills, leaving Kangra Fort in the hands of its legitimate Chief, to whom it was thus restored about a century-and-a-half after its occupation by the Mughals.

With the recovery of the fort, and the withdrawal of the Sikhs from the hills, Sansar-Chand was left at liberty to prosecute his ambitious designs. He revived the ancient claim of Kangra to the headship of the eleven States of the Jalandhar group, which had been in abeyance in the Mughal times, and arrogated to himself supreme authority over the Chiefs. He compelled them to pay tribute, encroached upon their territories, and seized by force all the lands which had been included in the Imperial demesne. In pursuance of this claim he demanded of Raj-Singh the surrender of the *Rihlu ilaga*, as having been part of the Kangra *kardari* under the Mughals. This demand was met by a prompt refusal, and, seeing a conflict inevitable, Raj-Singh began at once to prepare for war. He went in person to Rihlu, and repaired and strengthened the fort, which was garrisoned by his own troops. Meantime Sansar-Chand was not slow to support his demand by armed force. He concluded a treaty with Dhian-Singh, Wazir of Guler, who, in those unsettled times, had seized the small State of Kotla, between Kangra and Nurpur, and had made himself independent. Raj-Singh obtained help from Nurpur. The Chamba army was disposed in various directions along the frontiers, keeping watch and ward, while Raj-Singh himself was at Nerti

¹ The Hazuris, or Mughal gunners from Delhi, had arranged to surrender the fort to Sansar-Chand for a reward, but Jai-Singh heard of this, and his troops, being nearest the gate, entered first, and kept possession.

near Shahpur, with the Nurpur levies and a small force of his own troops. Sansar-Chand, getting intelligence of this, advanced secretly, and fell suddenly upon the Chamba force, which was taken completely by surprise. The Nurpur levies fell into a panic and fled, leaving with the Raja only forty-five of his own men. His officers urged him to make a retreat, pointing out to him the hopelessness of effecting a stand against such superior numbers, but he refused to do so, saying it would be a disgrace to retire when confronted by the enemy. His personal attendants and servants first fell around him, and then the Raja himself was wounded in the thigh by a bullet. Still he bravely fought on, killing many of his opponents and performing prodigies of valour. At last a man named Jit-Singh,¹ Purbea, came from behind, and struck him on the head with a sword. Raj-Singh wiped away the blood, and then, resting his hand on a large stone near which he was standing, fell dead. The impress of the blood-stained hand is believed to be still visible on the stone. Sansar-Chand is said to have given orders that Raj-Singh should be taken prisoner, and the Raja's death caused him much concern. A copper-plate exists recording a treaty of amity and friendship between them, dated Vik. 1845=A.D. 1788. A temple was erected on the spot by his son, at which a *mela* is held every year on the anniversary of his death. Raj-Singh's bravery on this occasion is still commemorated in song by the local bards throughout these mountains. He is said to have paid special veneration to Chamunda Devi, the Goddess of War of the Chamba Chiefs, and was promised by her an addition of twelve years to his life, and the honour of dying in battle as he desired. Raj-Singh repaired or rebuilt the Chamunda Temple, and the stone steps leading up to it were also built by him.

Raj-Singh died on the 7th Har, Vik. 1850=A.D. 1794, in the 40th year of his age, and the 30th of his reign. When his body was examined it was found to bear no fewer than eighteen wounds.

As already stated the possession of Churah, in whole or in part, was a standing cause of dispute between Chamba and Basohli. It had changed hands more than once in the early centuries, and in later times the dispute was limited

¹ This man's name is given differently in different accounts of the battle. In one it is Amar-Singh, Hazuri, and he is said to have been one of four brothers present, one of whom was killed by Raj-Singh.

chiefly to the two *ilagas* of Jundh and Bhalai, adjoining the Basohli boundary. Bhalai was made over to Sangram-Pal of Basohli by Prithvi-Singh in 1641 and a *sanad* for its restoration to Chamba was granted by the Mughal Viceroy in 1648. It had perhaps been given only as security for repayment of the cost of the contingent sent by Basohli, and Sangram-Pal wanted to retain it permanently. However this may have been, it was recovered in 1666 by Chatar-Singh. Raja Ugar-Singh seems to have lost Jundh *ilaga* and also probably Bhalai about 1730 owing to some act of disloyalty, but they were restored in 1758 to Raja Umed-Singh, by another *sanad* of the Mughal Viceroy. The next attempt by Basohli to recover the territory was in the early part of Raj-Singh's reign, about 1774, aided by Jammu, and the last in 1794 after Raj-Singh's death.

Jit-Singh, A.D. 1794.—Notwithstanding the death of the Raja the Chamba troops continued to maintain their hold on Rihlu, and there was no more fighting. Sansar-Chand secured only a few villages on the border. Jit-Singh was nineteen years of age at the time of his father's death, and shortly after his accession he was involved in a war with Basohli. Bijai-Pal of that State was in the habit of making inroads into the Jundh and Bhalai *ilagas* of Chamba, which adjoined his own territory, and of plundering the country. In A.D. 1800 Jit-Singh retaliated by invading Basohli, and, after conquering the State, restored it, as his father had done, on payment of a war indemnity. Sometime after this, the Chamba Chief was desirous of visiting the shrine of Devi Mal in Balor, but the Rajas of Basohli, Bhadu and Ramnagar, suspecting that he had designs against them, sent a *nazrana* of Rs. 50,000, with a request to him to turn back, which he accordingly did.

The vernacular *Vansavali* states that both Bhalai and Jundh had been made over to Sangram-Pal.—*Vide Chamba Museum Catalogue, Appendix IV, c. 4 to c. 10.*

Meanwhile Sansar-Chand had been engaged in still further consolidating and extending his power, and with the acquisition of Fort Kangra he was able to exercise a tyrannical and oppressive sway over all the Hill States between the Ravi and the Satluj.¹ These he made entirely subject, and compelled the Chiefs to attend his court, and send contingents for his military expeditions. In this way he

¹ *Vide Kangra Settlement Report, page 10.*

fully established his power in the hills, and ruled despotically for twenty years, gaining for himself a renown which had never been approached by any of his ancestors; and his name is still widely known throughout these mountains. But his overweening ambition carried him too far. Not content with what he had acquired in the hills, he aimed also at the recovery of his ancestral possessions on the plains, which had been lost after the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni; and is said even to have dreamt of a Katogh kingdom in the Panjab. For this purpose he twice descended from the mountains into the Bari Doab, but was driven back by Ranjit-Singh, who was then rising into power, and would brook no rival. This was in A.D. 1803 and A.D. 1804. Disappointed in his designs on the plains, Sansar-Chand, in A.D. 1805, turned his arms against the State of Bilaspur, and seized part of the territory lying on the right bank of the Satluj. This was the last straw; and the hill Chiefs, smarting under the many indignities heaped upon them, and fearing probably for their own possessions, formed a general confederacy against him, the ultimate result of which was his downfall, and the complete extinction of his kingdom.

Previous to A.D. 1803 the Gurkhas of Nepal had invaded and annexed the mountain area between the Gogra and the Satluj, and Bilaspur was subject to them. The Raja of that State, in conjunction with all the associated States of the Jalandhar Circle, and also Basohli, sent to invite Amar-Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, to invade Kangra, and promised him their support. This invitation was eagerly accepted, and the Gurkha army at once crossed the Satluj, and was met by contingents from the Confederate States. This was in the end of A.D. 1805. Nathu, Wazir of Chamba, was sent in charge of the State troops. The Kangra forces, which had been weakened by recent changes, made a brave but ineffectual resistance, and the Gurkhas then advanced into the heart of the country and laid siege to Kangra Fort, in which Sansar-Chand had taken refuge. The fort was invested for four years, but all the efforts of the Gurkhas were unequal to the task of reducing it. At length, rendered desperate by the misery and distress which had come upon his country and seeing no hope of relief, Sansar-Chand, in A.D. 1809, sent Fateh-Chand, his younger brother, to ask the aid of Ranjit-Singh. This request was readily granted, but on condition that the Kangra Fort should be surrendered; and to this Sansar-Chand had to agree.

The Maharaja then advanced into the hills in person, in May, A.D. 1809, and being met at Jwalamukhi by Sansar-Chand, who had escaped from the fort in disguise, he in August gave battle to the Gurkhas, defeated them, and compelled them to retire across the Satluj. According to agreement Ranjit-Singh then took possession of the fort, and with it the 66 villages in the Kangra Valley which had formed a part of the Imperial demesne, leaving the rest of the Kangra State in the hands of Sansar-Chand, who was now reduced to the position of a feudatory of the Sikhs. His downfall involved that of the other States, and from A.D. 1809 all of them, including Chamba, became tributary to Lahore.

Jit-Singh died in A.D. 1808, while the siege of the Kangra Fort was still going on, in the 38rd year of his age and the 14th of his reign. He lived in troublous times, and a large army had to be maintained for the defence of the State, but he managed his affairs with such prudence that the revenues sufficed for all expenses, and the State was never in debt. His sons were Charhat-Singh and Zorawar-Singh.

Charhat-Singh, A.D. 1808.—Charhat-Singh was only six years old at the time of his father's death, but the State officials seated him on the *gaddi*, and installed him as Raja. During Charhat-Singh's minority the administration was in the hands of the queen-mother, a Jammu princess, and of Nathu, a member of the Baratru family, who had been appointed Wazir in the reign of Jit-Singh. The queen-mother, whose name was Rani Sarda, was a wise and far-seeing woman. She erected the temple of Radha-Krishna, which was consecrated on the 14th of Baisakh, Vik. 1882=A.D. 1825. It was she, too, who caused the steps to be made to the *rani's* shrine, alongside the water-course on the Shah Madar Hill. Nathu, the Wazir, also seems to have been a man of great ability and administrative talent. His name is still remembered in Chamba, where he is spoken of with great respect. The first event of importance after the accession of the young Chief was a threatened invasion by the Sikhs under Ranjit-Singh. He had reduced Jasrota and Basohli, in the Jammu Hills, to the position of tributaries, and was advancing on Chamba, when he was bought off by large presents. This was in A.D. 1808-09. The State soon afterwards became subject to Lahore, but remained almost completely free from actual invasion, though threatened with it more than once. This immunity was due in part

to the mountainous and difficult character of the country, but also in a considerable degree to the personal influence, and great sagacity, of Nathu, the Wazir, who was a favourite with the Maharaja.

As already mentioned, the small State of Bhadrawah had long been tributary to Chamba, and was ruled by its own Chief, whose name at this time was Daya-Pal.¹ Towards the end of his reign internal family quarrels arose in Bhadrawah, and Daya-Pal was driven out, and died in Dinanagar. Pahar-Chand, his cousin, succeeded, in the absence of a direct heir, and after some years he, in A.D. 1820, refused to continue the payment of tribute to Chamba. Nathu, Wazir, advanced against him, but was defeated on the Padari Pass. He then went to Ranjit-Singh, and obtaining help from him, with a *sanad* of transfer, advanced a second time in A.D. 1821. The Raja of Bhadrawah, finding resistance hopeless, partly demolished a fort recently erected, and fled, never to return. Bhadrawah was then annexed to the Chamba State, and placed under the direct control of its officials.

In A.D. 1821, Desa Singh, Majithia,² in the name of Ranjit-Singh, claimed Rihlu, as having been a part of the Kangra *kardari* under the Empire, and laid siege to the fort. Nathu sent orders to the officer in command to hold out till he should proceed to Lahore, and arrange the matter with the Maharaja; but the queen-mother, becoming afraid of the consequences of further resistance, directed the fort to be surrendered to the Sikhs. Rihlu thus passed away finally from the possession of the State. Nathu went to Lahore, but failed in his mission, in so far as the retention of Rihlu was concerned, but he succeeded in persuading Ranjit-Singh to give back Ranitar, a small place in Rihlu, which had been the hereditary *jagir* of the *ranis* of the Chamba family. He also secured the remission of the yearly tribute of Rs. 30,000, in consideration of the loss of Rihlu. Mr. Vigne states that Chamba agreed to the surrender of Rihlu on condition of being allowed to retain Bhadrawah, and a *sanad* granted by Ranjit-Singh in A.D. 1821, conveying

¹ Fateh-Pal and Bhup-Chand, the fathers, respectively, of Daya-Pal and Pahar-Chand, were prisoners in the Pakki Chauki or old palace at Chamba and died there. Pahar-Chand's mother was a Chamba princess.

² Desa-Singh was the first Sikh Nazim or Governor of Kangra. The Rihlu Fort was surrendered on 2nd Har, s. 97=A. D. 1821. The *sanad* is dated 27th Jeth, Vik. 1878=June A.D. 1821.

Bhadrawah to Chamba, confirms this transfer. This *sanad*, as we shall see, helped to save the State from dismemberment and practical annexation to Jammu.

In A.D. 1815 Bir-Singh of Nurpur, brother-in-law of Charhat-Singh, was expelled from his principality by Ranjit-Singh, and fled to Chamba. There he raised an army to attempt the recovery of his State, and, being defeated, sought refuge in British territory across the Sutlej. In A.D. 1826 he returned to Nurpur in disguise, and his people rallied round him, but on the approach of a Sikh force he retired to Chamba; and having been given up, under compulsion, by Charhat-Singh, he was imprisoned for seven years in the fort of Govindgarh. Thereafter he was ransomed by the Chamba Chief for Rs. 85,000 and returned to Chamba, where he resided off and on for some time. He was in Chamba at the time of Mr. Vigne's visit in 1839, and, finally, died at Nurpur in 1846, while engaged in a last vain attempt to recover his principality.

In A.D. 1820—25 Ratanu, the Palasra, or chief State official in Padar, invaded Zanskar, and made it tributary to Chamba. It had till then been under its own Raja, who was subject to Ladakh.¹ At a later date the State lost both Padam and Zanskar.

In A.D. 1835 Gulab-Singh of Jammu sent an army under Wazir Zorawar-Singh, Kahluria, one of his ablest generals, to invade and conquer Ladakh. After the conquest a force under Wazir Lakhpat Rai was detached from the main army to annex Zanskar, which still held out, and having done this the force crossed the Umasi Pass and passed through Padar on the way back to Jammu. It is believed that Gulab-Singh had no intention of encroaching on State territory, but the Padar people were suspicious, and some opposition was offered to the passage of the Dogra army. This, however, did not amount to much, and the main body passed on, leaving only about thirty men in Chatargarh to keep up communications.² Thereupon Ratanu, the Chamba official, stirred up the people, seized the Dogra soldiers, and sent them to Chamba. Charhat-Singh at once disowned the act of his official, but the mischief had been done, and in the spring of 1836 Zorawar-Singh

¹ The tribute is said to have been Rs. 1,000 yearly, besides musk bags and other things.

² Twenty men with a Thanadar had been left at Padam in Zanskar, but they were all killed in an outbreak; and it was probably on hearing this that Ratanu attacked the small force in Chatargarh.

came in person with a large force to avenge the insult. Ratanu had the bridge over the Chandra-Bhaga broken down, and in this way kept the Dogras at bay for three months, but at last, having with the help of some villagers, passed a *jhula* across the river a few miles lower down, Zorawar-Singh succeeded in transferring a portion of his force to the other bank, and thus, advancing under cover of night, effected an entrance into Chatargarh by the bridge over the Bhutna Nala, which had been left intact. Chatargarh was razed to the ground, and the name of the place changed to Gulabgarh; and several of the Padar people were hanged or mutilated. The country was then annexed to Jammu.¹

It was in Padar that a sapphire mine was discovered in 1880 which has been a source of considerable gain to the Jammu State.

Ratanu, whose excess of loyalty had caused all the trouble, fled to Chamba, but he was seized and sent to Jammu, where he was confined for some years. He was then released and allotted a small *jagir* in Kashtwar, which is still held by his family, who, however, have now been permitted to return to their original home in Padar. It is told of him that, on learning of Charhat-Singh's death, he shaved his head and beard as a sign of mourning, and, on hearing of this, Gulab-Singh sent for him. In reply to the Raja's inquiry, Ratanu is reported to have answered that Charhat-Singh of Chamba was his master, and that he was bound to go into mourning on such an occasion. Gulab-Singh was so pleased with his boldness and patriotic feeling that he was at once forgiven.

In 1836 a Dogra army, under Zorawar-Singh, Kahluria, advanced against Bhadrawah, but the fort was strongly held by the Chamba troops, while another force was advancing from Chamba to their support and the Dogras had therefore to retire.

Wazir Nathu died about 1838, and his death was a great loss to the State, which he had served so faithfully for more than 40 years. He is said to have stood high in the favour of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, on account of important personal service rendered on the occasion of the first invasion of Kashmir in 1814, which ended disastrously for the Sikhs. This

¹ The right bank of the Gannaur Nala in Pangri was seized at the same time, and included in Padar.

personal influence with the Maharaja stood the State in good stead at several grave junctures.

He was succeeded by Wazir Bhaga, also a member of the Baratru family. It was soon after this, in February, 1839, that Chamba was for the first time visited by a European in the person of Mr. Vigne. He came by Basohli and Sandhara and departed by Chuari and Nurpur. He speaks of Charhat-Singh as "not tall, inclined to corpulency, with a full face, light complexion, good profile and a large eye, a somewhat heavy expression and a weak voice." Of Zorawar-Singh he remarks that "he is not so corpulent as his brother, with very handsome, but inexpressive features, and is always splendidly dressed *à la Sikh*, with a chelenk of rubies and emeralds worn on the forehead over the turban." The Raja's travels, he states, had never extended beyond Chenini, whither he went to claim and carry off his bride, a daughter of the Raja of that place. As regards the daily routine, Mr. Vigne says: "The Raja passes his time very monotonously, devoting a great part of every morning to his *pūja*; then follows the breakfast and the long siesta. He then gives a short attention to business, and afterwards he and his brother ride up and down the 'green' on an elephant, between two others, in the centre of a line of a dozen well-mounted horsemen."¹

Zorawar-Singh, the Raja's younger brother, is still remembered in Chamba, and the people love to dwell upon the cordiality and affection which existed between the two brothers. Charhat-Singh never went to Lahore himself, but always sent Zorawar-Singh instead, and in 1833 he was raised to the dignity of Raja of Bhadrawah and was then spoken of as "Chota Raja." Possibly this title had some association with the ancient designation of "Yuvaraja," and, till the birth of Sri-Singh in 1839, Zorawar-Singh must have been regarded as heir-apparent to the *gaddi*. This probably was at the bottom of the trouble which, as we shall see, arose after Charhat-Singh's death.

Mr. Vigne met Bir-Singh of Nurpur at Chamba, and heard the story of his misfortunes from his own lips. Bir-Singh's anxiety to regain his dominions was evident in every sentence he uttered. In the same year, 1839, Chamba was visited by General Cunningham who was the first to examine

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 150—59.

the archæological remains in the State, at the capital and Brahmaur.

Charhat-Singh was afflicted with a form of melancholia which cast a cloud over the last two or three years of his life. He died in 1844 in the 42nd year of his age, having occupied the *gaddi* for 36 years. Two *ranis* and six concubines became *sati*, this being the last occasion of such a rite in Chamba. He left three sons, Sri-Singh, Gopal Singh and Suchet-Singh, all of whom were more children at the time of their father's death.

Sri-Singh, A.D. 1844.—Sri-Singh was only five years of age on his accession, and all authority remained in the hands of his mother, who was a Katoch princess, while Bhaga continued to hold the office of Wazir. Some suspicion had been aroused in regard to Zorawar-Singh, the young Raja's uncle, and the queen-mother tried to have him arrested and imprisoned, but he easily escaped, and there was a disturbance in the capital. Zorawar-Singh, however, seems to have been unable to gain any support among the people, and immediately fled to Bhadrawah, of which he was titular Raja. Thence he went to Jammu, and died there soon afterwards, in 1845. His son, Prakim-Singh, was then made Raja of Bhadrawah, but that State was annexed in the same year by Gulab-Singh of Jammu.¹

Soon after Sri-Singh was seated on the *gaddi* an incident occurred which, in less fortunate circumstances, might have ended disastrously for the State. The facts of the case are thus related. There was in State service a Brahman of Basohli, who went by the name of Lakar Shah. He was a relative of Pandit Jalla, who with Hira-Singh, son of Dhian-Singh of Jammu, at the time wielded supreme power in Lahore. This man seems to have acted as agent of the Sikh Government, and managed to acquire so much influence in Chamba that the whole State administration was virtually in his hands. In his time, and by his orders, a new issue of the Chamba copper coin was made, and is still called Lakar-Shahi, after him. The State officials resented his arrogance, and took counsel with the *rani* to have him put out of the way. Accordingly he was set upon one day, seized, bound and carried up the Saho Valley, and over to Bailj, where he was

¹ It is probable that Bhadrawah had come more or less under the control of Jammu some time previous to this,

killed. Bhaga, Wazir, and two of the State officials then went to Lahore to try to pacify Hira-Singh and avert the consequences of their act; but Pandit Jalla had them cast into prison, and sent an army to invade Chamba. One division came by Chun and Sandhara, and on its approach the *rani* took Sri-Singh and fled up the Ravi Valley to Basu. The capital was captured and looted by the Sikhs. Another Sikh force advanced by Nurpur, but the Chamba troops in Taragarh Fort kept them at bay, and prevented their coming farther than Jajri. The Ganeshgarh Fort was taken by a Sikh force from Kotla. Things were looking very dark for the State when news arrived of the assassination of Hira-Singh and Pandit Jalla by the soldiery in Lahore, on the 21st December, A.D. 1844; whereupon the invading armies at once withdrew. Wazir Bhaga and his companions were also set at liberty, and returned to Chamba.

The disorders in the Panjab, which followed the death of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, were now fast approaching a crisis, and the following year, 1845, broke out the first Sikh War, which ended so disastrously for the Sikh Kingdom. On its conclusion the treaty of peace, as finally arranged, included the transfer to the British Government in perpetual sovereignty of the Jalandhar Doab and the hill country between the Bias and the Satluj. A war indemnity of a crore and-a-half of rupees was also stipulated for. The Sikh Darbar, being unable to meet this demand, agreed to cede the hilly and mountainous country between the Bias and the Indus as the equivalent of one crore promising to pay the remainder in cash. This treaty was concluded on 9th March, 1846. On the 16th of March following, a separate treaty was entered into between the British Government and Gulab-Singh of Jammu, transferring to him in perpetual possession all the hilly and mountainous country between the Ravi and the Indus, including Chamba, on his agreeing to pay £750,000. This treaty was shortly afterwards modified as regards the boundary on the Ravi. This river divides the Chamba State into two parts, and a question arose as to whether it was intended to include the whole State in the transfer, or only the portion to the west of the Ravi. Ultimately an agreement was come to whereby Gulab-Singh acquired *taluka* Lakhampur in exchange for the Cis-Ravi portion, and Chamba surrendered all claim to Bhadrawah, for which it held a *sanad* from Ranjit-Singh, on condition that the territory to the east of the Ravi should

be restored, thus preserving the ancient integrity of the State.¹ Had the provisions of the treaty of 16th March been fully carried out, Chamba would have become an integral part of Jammu territory.² It was saved from this fate by the patriotic zeal and astuteness of Wazir Bhaga, who immediately proceeded to Lahore, laid the matter before Sir Henry Lawrence, and succeeded in securing his sympathy and support, with the result stated. Bhadrawah thus ceased to be Chamba territory, but the rest of the State was left intact and directly under British control, subject to an annual tribute of Rs. 12,000. A *sanad*,³ dated 6th April, 1848, was granted to Raja Sri-Singh, conferring the territory of Chamba upon him,⁴ and providing that, failing heirs-male of his own body, the succession should devolve on his elder surviving brother. A more recent *sanad*⁵ grants the right of adoption to the Chamba Chiefs on the failure of direct heirs, and is dated 11th March, 1862.

In 1851 the State authorities were approached by Government with a view to the establishment of a Sanatorium for Europeans within the territory, and every facility was given for this purpose. A site was selected on the western extremity of the Dhaula Dhar by the late Lord Napier of Magdala, then Colonel Napier. After the necessary observations as to climate had been made, Government sanction was given, in A.D. 1853, to the transfer of certain plateaux from the Chamba State, *viz.*, Katalagh, Potrain, Terah, Bakrota and Bhangor, in consideration of which a reduction of Rs. 2,000 was made in the amount of the tribute annually payable by the State. On the recommendation of the late Sir Donald MacLeod the new Sanatorium was named Dalhousie. In A.D. 1866 the Balun plateau was also taken over for a Convalescent Dépôt for European troops, and at the same time the Bakloh plateau was transferred for a Gurkha Cantonment. For these a further reduction of Rs. 5,000 was made in the tribute. More transfers of land to Government have taken place since then, with a relative reduction in the annual tribute, which now stands at Rs. 2,008.

¹ Lakhampur and Chandgraon are to the west of the Ravi opposite Madhopur, in Jammu territory. They were at the time attached to Nurpur State.

² It is said that a portion of the State adjoining the Jammu border was for a short time in the hands of the Jammu officials.

³ *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Volume II, No. CXXIX.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. XVIII.

⁵ The small *jagir* of Ranitar in Rihlu was, however, resumed by Government.

During the Mutiny Sri-Singh was loyal to the Government, and rendered every assistance in his power. He sent troops to Dalhousie under the late Mian Autar-Singh, and also had a careful watch kept along the frontier for any mutineers who might enter State territory, many of whom were apprehended and made over to the British authorities.

Wazir Bhaga retired in 1854, and was succeeded by Wazir Billu, also of the Baratru family who, with a short break, held office till 1860. There were one or two more changes, each of brief duration, previous to the appointment of a European Superintendent in December 1862, after which the office of Wazir was for some years in abeyance.

The administration seems to have become much disorganized during Sri-Singh's minority, and when he came of age and took the reigns of government into his own hands, he found it difficult to restore order. He had married a Suket princess, and the men who came with her gradually usurped all authority, the Chamba officials being unable to make a firm stand against them. The revenue had fallen to about a lakh, and a heavy debt had accumulated, due probably, in a measure at least, to the exactions under Sikh rule. Finding himself unequal to the task of dealing with the disorder into which affairs had fallen, Sri-Singh, in 1862, asked the Panjab Government for the services of a British officer. His request was acceded to, and Major Blair Reid was appointed Superintendent, and arrived on 1st January, 1863. In a short time Major Reid effected important and far-reaching reforms. All the useless servants and hangers-on about the court were dismissed; the troops—chiefly of Purbiahs and Pathans—whose allowances were in arrears, were paid up and discharged; debts of long standing were liquidated, and the State finances placed on a sound footing.

Till then the forts of Taragarh, Ganeshgarh and Prithvijor had been garrisoned by State troops, and when these were disbanded the garrisons were withdrawn, the arms removed to Chamba, and the forts entrusted to the care of the local State officials.

Major Reid next devoted attention to the development of the internal resources of the State. In a mountainous country like Chamba, where for ages every precaution had to be taken against aggression from without, the routes into the interior were little more than tracks; and the opening up

of communications was therefore a matter of the first importance. A Public Works Department under European supervision was organized, new lines of road were surveyed, and their construction was vigorously pushed on from year to year as funds permitted. Even in the isolated valley of Pangl communications were much improved, chiefly through the agency of the Forest Department.

In 1863 a Post Office was opened in the capital, and a daily mail service with Dalhousie established and maintained at the cost of the State.

Educational work was begun in the same year by the opening of a Primary School, the nucleus of the present High School.

Realising the great importance of efficient forest conservancy, Major Reid, in 1864, moved the Raja to transfer the working of the State Forests to Government, and this was effected by a lease (dated 10th September 1864), for 99 years, subject to revision every 20 years. Under this lease Government agreed to pay the State Rs. 22,000 yearly, and the forests were thus placed under the direct control of the Imperial Forest Department.

In January, 1865, Major Reid was succeeded by Captain Forbes. Plans for a Residency had already been prepared, and the building was completed during his term of office. In June, 1866, Lieutenant E. G. Wace succeeded Captain Forbes till Major Reid's return in December, 1866.

In December, 1866, a Hospital was opened under Doctor Elmslie of the Kashmir Medical Mission, in connection with the Chamba State. The institution was largely resorted to, and much regret was felt when, in March, 1867, Doctor Elmslie returned to his permanent sphere of work in Kashmir. As no one could be found to take his place, the Hospital was temporarily closed, but was re-opened in February, 1868, under an Assistant Surgeon.

The next two years were marked by the construction of two entirely new roads to Dalhousie—*via* Kolri and Khajiar, respectively—which not only made the journey easier, but greatly facilitated trade with the plains. Dâk Bungalows were opened at Chamba and Khajiar. Jandrihât, the Raja's Dalhousie residence, was erected in 1870-71.

Meantime the State continued to prosper, and, as a result of stable government, the revenue rapidly expanded, till in

1870 it reached Rs. 1,73,000. This substantial increase was not due to additional taxation, on the contrary many vexatious and petty taxes on marriages, traders, etc., were abolished, only the town octroi and bridge tolls being retained. It was due chiefly to the security of land tenure afforded by the granting of leases, whereby the area under cultivation was immensely increased; and with the opening up of communications, high prices were obtained from traders, who with their mules and bullocks were now able to visit the interior of the State for the purchase of grain and other exports.

While these changes were in progress and everything augured well for the future, Raja Sri-Singh died after a short illness, on the 11th Assuj, 1870, in the 32nd year of his age and the 27th of his reign. Though not well educated he was a wise and sagacious ruler, and had many good qualities both of head and heart. Generous and amiable in character, he was much beloved by his people, and his early death was deeply and sincerely mourned. The various reforms initiated by the Superintendents had his hearty support, for he saw in them the best means of ameliorating the condition of his people and advancing the interests of the State. His only son died in infancy, and his only daughter was married to the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Gopal-Singh, A.D. 1870.—In the absence of a direct heir, Mian Suchet-Singh, the younger of the two surviving brothers, laid claim to the *gaddi*, basing his claim on the fact that he was the late Raja's uterine brother. The *sanad* of 1848 had, however, made provision for the succession, and, in accordance with it, Mian Gopal-Singh, the elder of the two brothers, was declared the rightful heir. The order of Government directing his recognition as Raja was notified in open Darbar by Colonel Blair Reid on the 25th October, 1870. Mian Suchet-Singh then retired from Chamba, and continued to press his claim for many years, both in India and England, but always with the same result. He died in London in August, 1896, without male heirs.

Like his predecessor, Raja Gopal-Singh had the assistance of a Political Officer, and Colonel Reid continued in charge. The reforms initiated in the previous reign were pushed on and the revenue continued to increase. Several new lines of road were constructed, and improvements carried out in the capital which added much to its beauty. In 1871 the school was raised to the Middle Standard and a European Headmaster

appointed. The Hospital continued to attract an increasing number of patients and proved a great boon to the people in general; while the other departments of the administration were conducted with regularity and precision.

On 13th November, 1871, Chamba was visited by Lord Mayo, Governor-General of India.

On 5th January, 1872, Colonel Blair Reid proceeded on furlough and Colonel G. A. McAndrew was appointed Superintendent. His term of office was marked by another change in the administration. Raja Gopal-Singh had little predilection for the cares of government and difficulties began to arise. These reached a climax in the spring of 1873, and finding himself incapable of governing the country, the Raja, in April of that year, abdicated in favour of his elder son, Tikka Sham-Singh, then a boy of seven. A *jagir* was assigned him at Manjir with a suitable allowance, and there he lived in retirement until his death in March, 1895. He had three sons, Sham-Singh, born 8th July, 1866, Bhuri-Singh, born 18th December, 1869, and Partap-Singh, born after his abdication.

Raja Sham-Singh, A.D. 1873.—The young Raja was installed by General Reynell Taylor, Commissioner of Amritsar, on 7th October, 1873, Mian Autar-Singh being appointed Wazir. In the following January Colonel Blair Reid returned from furlough and resumed political charge of the State. The Raja being a minor supreme power was vested in the Superintendent and the Wazir, and their first concern was to make suitable arrangements for the education and training of the young Chief. Along with his brother, the Mian Sahib, he was placed under the care of a competent teacher, and no pains were spared to prepare him for the responsible position he was to fill. In April, 1874, Chamba was visited by Sir Henry Davies, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab; in March, 1875, the Raja was present at the Imperial Darbar in Delhi; and in 1876 he visited Lahore, with the other Chiefs, to meet the Prince of Wales, being the youngest ruling Chief present on that occasion. On 1st January, 1877, he took part in the great Proclamation Darbar at Delhi.

Meanwhile things had been going on quietly and prosperously in the State. Every effort had been made to develop its resources, and a fair measure of success had been attained. The revenue now stood at Rs. 2,00,000 and was expanding. A Land Revenue Settlement, begun by Colonel Reid in 1876,

resulted in a considerable gain to the State finances. It brought to light a great deal of land which was either very lightly assessed or had entirely escaped observation, thus considerably increasing the area under assessment. On 5th March, 1877, Colonel Blair Reid retired. With three intervals of absence he had been in uninterrupted charge of the State since 1868, and it would be difficult to over-estimate his services. *Coming at a crisis in its history he found it in a state of chaos, and on his departure he made over to his successor one of the most prosperous and progressive principalities in the Province, with a full treasury and an administration organized on a sound basis. It may justly be said that to General Blair Reid the Chamba State is chiefly indebted for the prosperity which it has ever since enjoyed.*

Colonel Reid was succeeded by Mr. R. T. Burney, C.S., who did much to still further improve the lines of communication. An entirely new road to Brahmaur was completed as far as the 20th mile ; but the project was ultimately abandoned owing to the cost which it would have involved. Of the other new roads one was carried from the capital to the Chuari Pass and the other to Khajiar.

In 1878 Mian Autar-Singh retired from the office of Wazir. In the same year Mr. John Harvey, of the Panjab Educational Department, was appointed tutor to the Raja, and, on his promotion in 1881, the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Mr. G. W. Blaithwayt. Under the care of these gentlemen the Raja made satisfactory progress in his studies, and also acquired a taste for manly sports in which he greatly excelled.

On 7th October, 1879, Mr. Burney was succeeded by Captain C. H. T. Marshall, who retained charge till November, 1885. Under this officer the roads were still further improved, and a new Darbar Hall, which is named after him, was added to the Palace. Hop-growing was introduced in 1880 under European supervision, and the industry prospered and proved remunerative, both to the cultivator and the State. It continued to flourish till 1896, but was ultimately abandoned owing to the difficulties in the process of drying. The Pangi Valley was found to be specially adapted to hop-culture. Sericulture was also tried but did not prove a success.

In 1881 a Branch Dispensary was opened at Tissa, which proved a great boon to the people of that portion of the State.

In the same year a Leper Asylum, commenced by the "Mission to Lepers" in 1876, was taken over by the State.

In February, 1883, the Raja was married to a granddaughter of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, and in the same year to a cousin of the Raja of Sirmur.

In November, 1883, Chamba was visited by Sir Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. In May, 1884, the Forest Lease came up for revision on the expiry of the first term of 20 years, and Government agreed to pay two-thirds of the profits to the State during the second term of the lease. The total revenue had now reached Rs. 2,50,000.

As the time drew near for the assumption of full powers the young Chief was initiated into the art of government, for which he showed considerable aptitude. He came of age in July, 1884, and in the following October was invested with full powers as a ruling Chief by Colonel C. A. McMahon, Commissioner of Lahore. Diwan Govind-Chand was at the same time advanced to the office of Wazir, which had been vacant since 1878. The first year of his rule was uneventful, and on 3rd November, 1885, the entire burden of the administration was transferred to the Raja by the withdrawal of the Superintendent.

The Raja entered on his onerous and responsible duties with zeal and earnestness. Every department was kept under his own control and received his personal attention, and at the end of a year the Commissioner was able to report that "The Raja's personal interest in the management of his territory is real and its administration is satisfactory."

In January, 1887, a Postal Convention was concluded which brought the State into direct relations with the Imperial Postal System, and resulted in a great expansion of the work of the Postal Department. Till then there had been only a Post Office in the capital, but in that year branch offices were opened at Brahmaur, Lil, Sihunta, Bathri, Tissa, Bhandal and Pangi, thus linking up the different Wazarats of the State. A daily arrival and departure mail service was established in connection with each, except in the case of Pangi and Brahmaur, where the climate renders this impossible for more than six months in the summer. A special surcharged stamp was also introduced, which has been a source of revenue to the State.

The Judicial Department was reorganised on the British model but adapted to local conditions; civil and criminal

appeals going from the subordinate to the higher courts, then to the Wazir, and finally to the Raja. In the Police Department the force was increased to 100 constables under the control of an official designated Kotwal. The Public Works Department was also reorganised and entrusted with the care of the roads and public buildings.

The work of the Medical Department continued to grow under the fostering care of the Raja, and no expense was spared to secure efficiency. The Hospital buildings, erected by Colonel Reid in 1875, were demolished in 1891 to make way for the present "Sham-Singh Hospital," with accommodation for 40 in-patients, and fully furnished with all necessary medical and surgical appliances. The Branch Dispensary opened at Tissa in 1881, continued to attract an increasing number of patients.

Education was also fostered, and the advanced pupils were encouraged to prosecute their studies by the offer of scholarships in Chamba and on the plains.

A small military force was formed ; it consisted of 300 infantry and 30 cavalry with 4 guns, and was accommodated in new and substantial barracks erected in the neighbourhood of the town.

Shortly after his investment with full powers the Raja initiated extensive building operations and other improvements in the capital, which were continued over a series of years. Among these may be mentioned the erection of a new Court-House, Post-Office, Kotwali, Hospital and Jail. A large part of the main bazar was also rebuilt and the Chaugan or public promenade, within the town, levelled and extended, adding much to its attractions.

The Palace, most of which was old, was in a dilapidated condition. Its renovation was undertaken and the greater portion of it rebuilt. In addition to these improvements by the State, many new houses were erected in the town by private owners, and so great have been the changes in recent years that the capital has been transformed out of recognition, with a corresponding enhancement of its natural beauty.

In 1894 the old wire-suspension bridge over the Ravi was injured by a flood, and in the following year was replaced by a substantial iron suspension bridge at a cost of nearly a lakh of rupees.

The year 1895 was marked by an agrarian agitation, which arose in the Bhattiyat Wazarat, and for a considerable time rendered it difficult for the State officials to collect the revenue and provide the necessary supply of coolies for State service. As, however, an inquiry into their grievances by the Commissioner of Lahore proved clearly that there was no good ground for complaint the ringleaders were arrested and punished and the agitation then subsided.

In January, 1898, Wazir Govind-Chand was retired on pension, and the Raja's brother, Mian Bhuri-Singh, was appointed to succeed him. From childhood the two brothers had been greatly attached to each other, and for some years before his appointment as Wazir the Mian Sahib had acted as Private Secretary to the Raja, and was thus fully conversant with every detail of the administration; and his nomination gave great satisfaction throughout the State. During the disturbances on the North-West Frontier in 1897-98 the State made an offer of a large quantity of grain for the use of the troops. This offer, like others of a similar kind, was declined, but the loyalty to the British Crown which prompted it was fully appreciated and acknowledged by Government.

In September, 1900, the State was honoured by the visit of the Viceroy and Lady Curzon, who spent a week in Chamba. The Viceregal party were accommodated in the Residency, which was tastefully furnished for them, and His Excellency was pleased to express his entire satisfaction with all the arrangements, and his appreciation of the Raja's efforts to make the visit a pleasant one.

In November 1901, Sir Mackworth Young, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, included Chamba in his cold weather tour, and expressed his gratification at the efficiency of the administration and the prosperous condition of the State. The revenue had now reached Rs. 4,00,000.

In September, 1902, the Raja was prostrated by a serious and prolonged illness, which was a cause of great anxiety throughout the State. The illness was all the more unfortunate, as preparations were then in progress for the Delhi Coronation Darbar, to which he had been invited. After his restoration to health, the Raja, finding himself unequal to the duties inseparable from his position, addressed Government privately and expressed a strong wish to be permitted to abdicate in favour of his brother, Mian Bhuri-Singh. After some delay his abdication was accepted, in deference to

his own desire, and, on 22nd January, 1904, this was notified in open Darbar by the Honourable Mr. A. Anderson, C.I.E., Commissioner of Lahore.

Bhuri-Singh, A.D. 1904.—On May, 1904, Mian Bhuri-Singh, C.I.E., was, with all due ceremony, installed as Raja of Chamba by Sir Charles Rivaz, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. For seven years the Mian Sahib had been associated with his brother in the administration, and discharged the duties of Wazir with such conspicuous ability as to earn the approval of Government. This was shown in 1902 when he had conferred on him the well deserved distinction of a Companionship of the Indian Empire, in recognition of the eminent services he had rendered to the State. His accession to the *gaddi* was thus an event of deep significance. Highly cultured and of mature judgment, with wide administrative experience and an intimate knowledge of the State and its needs, Raja Bhuri-Singh entered on a career of great promise as a ruling Chief, with every happy augury of prosperity and success.

Among other public works the Raja, soon after his accession, took in hand the widening of the roads in the vicinity of the capital and the improvement of the main lines of communication in other parts of the State, with rest-houses where none had been already built.

After his abdication Raja Sham-Singh continued to reside in Chamba in the enjoyment of a liberal allowance. He had not fully recovered from the effects of his severe illness, but was in fair health and nothing untoward was anticipated. His sudden demise on 10th June, 1905, was thus quite unexpected, and caused sincere grief throughout the State. He was in the 39th year of his age, and at the time of his abdication had occupied the *gaddi* for 30 years.

On 1st January, 1906, His Highness the Raja received from the King-Emperor the distinction of Knighthood in the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India ; and this signal mark of favour gave keen gratification to his subjects.

In 1906 two new Guest Houses were erected, one in the town and the other in the suburb of Darogh. The Chamba Club with Reading Room and Library was also inaugurated.

In 1907 the Raja was present at the Viceregal Darbar in Agra to meet the Amir of Afghanistan.

In 1908 the negotiations with Government regarding the Forest Lease were concluded by the cancellation of the Lease and the restoration of the management of the forests to the State.

The operations in connection with the Water Supply and the installation of Electric Light in the town were completed in 1910 at a cost of Rs. 2,47,000, with great advantage to the convenience and comfort of the people.

On the out-break of the Great War in 1914 Raja Sir Bhuri-Singh placed his personal services and the resources of the State at the disposal of Government, and these services were recognised in 1919 by the bestowal of a Knighthood in the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire.

Meanwhile the State had continued to prosper under Sir Bhuri-Singh's conspicuously capable rule. The people were happy and contented, and the revenue had risen to Rs. 7,00,000. The various departments of the administration were fully organised, with every detail under the ruler's direct supervision and control, and the future seemed full of hope. There were, however, indications that the Raja's strenuous application to State affairs, with no one to share the burden, was impairing his strength, though nothing of a serious nature was anticipated. Suddenly on 18th September, 1919, while engaged in his Court work, a grave collapse occurred. The disease—cerebral hæmorrhage—ran a rapid course and in four days ended fatally.

The whole State was plunged into mourning by this unexpected calamity. Not in Chamba only was the Raja's death keenly felt; from all parts of India came letters of sympathy, paying high tributes to his memory both as a ruler and a friend. The loss to the State seemed irreparable.

Raja Sir Bhuri-Singh had two sons and two daughters, and was succeeded by his elder son, Tikka Ram-Singh.

The elder Princess was married to Tikka Brijmohan Pal of Kutch and the younger to Raja Sir Hari Singh of Kashmir, now Maharaja of that State.

Raja Ram-Singh, A.D. 1919.—Raja Ram Singh was installed by Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., Governor of the Panjab, in March 1920, and invested with full powers, and Rai Bahadur Lala Madho Ram was appointed Private

Secretary, and, at a later date, to the office of Chief Secretary. For this important post he was specially qualified, having been trained under the eye of the late Raja and being fully conversant with every detail of the administration.

At a later time the Mian Sahib Kesari Singh—brother of His Highness—was appointed Wazir of the State.

As regards his training for the high position he was to occupy, the Raja's education, in its early stage, was conducted in Chamba, under the guidance of his Tutor, Mr. E. M. Atkinson. Thereafter he entered on a full course of study at the Chiefs' College, Lahore, and on its completion proceeded to Dehra Dun for Military Training in the Cadet Corps at that place.

The State administration had been so carefully organized by the late Ruler that no changes were necessary, and the Raja succeeded to the *gaddi* with every department fully equipped, the State prosperous, the people happy and contented and cherishing deep feelings of loyalty to their hereditary Chief.

On 1st November 1921 the State came under the direct control of the Government of India in the Political Department.

On 8th December 1924 the birth of a son—Tika Lakshman Singh, the heir-apparent—afforded much pleasure to His Highness's subjects.

Soon after his accession the Raja took in hand the important work of improving communications within the State. A large portion of the road from Chamba to Nurpur was realigned and completed to the State border, with a wire suspension bridge over the Chakki river. The level road to Brahmaur—begun many years ago and completed to the 20th mile—was carried on to Khani, with a suspension bridge over the Ravi—a great boon to the inhabitants of the Upper Ravi Valley. These works are still in progress.

Greater postal facilities have also been provided with an extension of village schools and medical aid.

A sum of Rs. 76,000 was also expended on necessary changes in connection with the Electric Installation and the Water Supply in the capital.

The State revenue has now reached a total of Rs. 9,00,000.

CHAPTER VIII.

Suket State.

Suket is bounded on the north by Mandi, on the east by Saraj-Kulu, on the south by the Satluj and the small States of Shangri, Bhajji, Bhagal and Mangal, and on the west by Bilaspur. Its territory is limited at the present time, as compared with that of former times, when it included almost all the territory now in Mandi and a large portion of Kulu. The area is 420 square miles, with a population of 58,408.

A small portion of the State, containing the capital, is situated in the Suketi Nala, a tributary of the Bias ; but the major part is in the Satluj Valley. The origin of the name is uncertain, but it may be a derivation of Sukshetra,¹ "the good land."

Sir A. Cunningham was the first to draw attention to the *Vansavali* of the ruling family in his paper on the history of Mandi in the Reports of the Archæological Survey. More recently a vernacular history of the State has been published by Sardar Hardayal Singh of Kangra, who acted for a time, first as Tahsildar and later as Superintendent of the State. It is called Tawarikh-i-Rijyasat-hai-Kohistan Punjab.

It seems to be almost the only authority available. There are also references to Suket in the records of Mandi and Kulu, as well as other States, which help to elucidate events. Suket is not referred to in the *Rajatarangini*, and is only once mentioned by the Muhammadan historians.

The early history of the State is similar to that of other parts of the hills. Previous to its foundation, the whole tract was under the control of numerous petty barons, bearing the title of Rana or Thakur, and the vernacular history gives a graphic account of their subjection by the early Rajas. This account fully coincides with what we know of the general political condition of the hills in former times, and down to a comparatively recent period. In the case of almost all the Hill States, whose histories are known to us, there is a similar record of long and continuous warfare between the Rajas and the petty Chiefs. The Raja was an alien among them, and it was only by superior force that he succeeded in gaining an ascendancy. Revolts were of frequent occurrence, and the usual tribute money, the only symbol of subjection, was forthcoming only when there was no

¹ *Ksh.* was pronounced like *ch* in *loch*.

other alternative. Such was the condition of the tract, now embraced in Suket and Mandi, when the founder of the dynasty first appeared upon the scene.

The Chiefs of Suket, Mandi, Keonthal and Kashtwar are from a common ancestor, of the Sena dynasty of Bengal; of the Chandarbansi line of Rajputs; and they therefore claim descent from the Pandavas of the *Mahabharata*.

The descendants of the common ancestor were three brothers, named Vira or Bir-Sen, who became the Ruler of Suket, Giri-Sen of Keonthal and Hamir-Sen of Kashtwar.

It is not a little remarkable that the tradition of a common origin from the Rajas of Bengal survives in the records of all these families. Kashtwar, however, must have been founded at a later date than Suket. The tradition of two or three brothers having each founded a kingdom is found in the annals of several of the ruling families of the hills.

Sir A. Cunningham assigns the foundation of Suket to an early period (A.D. 765), which seems to be in keeping with the available data. According to him, it is probable that there was an early Sena dynasty in Bengal, whose ancestor, named Vira-Sena, reigned in the seventh century, and from whom the later Sena dynasty was descended. The founder of Suket may thus have been a cadet of the first Sena dynasty, and the emigration from Bengal must have taken place at an early period.

Ramesh Chandar Dutt concurs in this conclusion, and in support states that a Raja, named Adi Surya, who is identified with Vira-Sena, brought five Brahmins and five Kayashtas from Kanauj, and settled them in Bengal. By the eleventh century they had so multiplied that a classification was necessary, and was made by Raja Balala-Sena, A.D. 1066. Such an increase could not have taken place between A.D. 986, when the later Sena dynasty was founded, and the time of Balala-Sena.¹

A review of other data at our disposal also gives support to this conclusion. The earliest approximately ascertained date is that for the reign of Arjun-Sen (A.D. 1549), who was a contemporary of Bahadur-Singh of Kulu (A.D. 1539—59). Now, according to the *Tanwarail*, there were 85 reigns anterior to that of Arjun-Sen, and allowing an average of 22 years to each, i.e., 770 years, we get $1549 - 770 = \text{A.D. } 779$, as the approximate date for the foundation of the State.

¹ *Civilization in Ancient India*, Volume II, page 470.

An interesting reference to Suket is also on record in the Chamba *Vansavali*. About A.D. 800, Brahmapura, the original capital and nucleus of the Chamba State, was invaded by a race of foreigners called "Kira," and the Raja was killed in battle. His queen, who was *enceinte*, was carried away for safety by the officials, and on the way to the outer hills a son was born, named Mushan-Varman.

Ultimately the *rani* and the young prince found an asylum with the Raja of Suket, who made liberal provision for them. On growing up, Mushan-Varman was married to the Raja's daughter and received in dowry a *jagir* in Panga, evidently a clerical error for Pangna, which was then the capital and nucleus of the State. An army was also furnished with which Mushan-Varman expelled the Kiras and recovered his country.

A tradition has also come down in the Rana family of Kaniyara near Dharmsala in Kangra—that they are descended from the second son of the Suket Raja referred to. He was sent in command of the army and ruled the State till Mushan-Varman came of age, and afterwards settled in the Chanota *pargana*. At a later time the family migrated to Kaniyara in Kangra.

Further corroborative evidence of the antiquity of the State is found in the Chronicle of Bilaspur, where the following couplet occurs, referring to the conquests of Raja Bir-Chand, the founder of that State, who reigned about A.D. 800 :—

Pahle Baghal jite Kunihar thakurai.

Beja, Dhami markar Keonthal pai dhari.

"Having conquered Baghal, and the chiefships of Kunihar, Beja and Dhami, an advance was made against Keonthal."

From this it is obvious that the Keonthal State had been founded before the invasion took place; and, as in the case of the other Chiefships named, that it was ruled by the same family as that still in power, which is descended from the same ancestor as Suket.

In the Kulu annals also we find still clearer corroborative evidence, referring to events which probably happened not later than A.D. 850—900, and possibly earlier. At that time Raja Bhupal (Bhup-Pal) was the ruler of Kulu, and in his reign the State was invaded by Suket, and the Raja

was taken prisoner. This reference is confirmed by the Suket Chronicle. For three reigns thereafter, according to the Kulu annals, that country was subject to Suket. It then regained its independence for a short time, but was then again overrun and conquered by Suket, to which it was once more in subjection for three reigns. These events must all have taken place previous to A.D. 900 approximately. /

Lastly, Kashtwar, which was an offshoot from Suket, is referred to in the *Rajatarangini* in A.D. 1087, when the Raja, named Uttama Raja, was present in Kashmir along with seven other tributary hill Chiefs. He was probably the tenth from the foundation of the State, which may have taken place about A.D. 900.

The clan name of the Suket royal line is Suketi or Suketr, in accordance with ancient custom in the hills.

The suffix is "Sen," but the younger members of the family take "Singh."

Vira or *Bir-Sen*, A.D. 765.—After crossing the Satluj at Jiuri ferry, Bir-Sen, the founder of the State, along with his followers, probably Rajput adventurers like himself, advanced into the interior, and began the conquest of the country. The Ranas and Thakurs naturally resented the invasion of their domains and offered opposition, but their mutual jealousies rendered combined action impossible, and one after another yielded to his superior force.

The first to take the field against him was the Thakur of Karoli, whose State was called Darehat, and he was quickly subdued and his fort captured. Then Sri Mangal, the Rana of Batwara, who had come to help the Thakur of Karoli, was also attacked and overcome.

Following up his initial successes, Bir-Sen then advanced against the Thakur of Nagra whose territory was Kot and Paranga. He was subdued, as also the Thakur of Chiragh, who ruled Batal and *thana* Chawindi. The Chinidiwala Thakur ruling Udaipur undertook to become tributary, and being at feud with the Rana of Sanyarto, who was the overlord of the district, the Raja was advised to attack and kill this latter chief, otherwise it would be impossible to extend his authority. Bir-Sen, accordingly, proceeded against the Rana, and on his approach the Thakur of Khunu fled, and his fort was captured, and held for a long period.

Sanyarto was then attacked, and the *thanas* of Kajun and Dhyarakot were taken after a severe contest, the Rana being captured. He was treated with consideration and set at liberty, a *jagir* being assigned for his support, which remained in the possession of his descendants till the reign of Shyam Sen (A.D. 1627—58).

Having subjected all the Ranas and Thakurs within a certain area, Bir-Sen sent for his family, probably from the east of the Satluj, and settled them in a palace which he had erected on the skirts of the Kunnu Dhar, which he made his first residence. The palace still bears the name of "Narol" meaning "Privacy" owing probably to its seclusion.

Bir-Sen then resumed the campaign against the petty Chiefs, and with the help of a force from *thana* Kajun, which he had acquired from the Rana of Sanyarto, he attacked the Thakur of Koti Dehar, defeated him and seized the *ilagas* of Nanj, Salalu, Belu and *thana* Magra. He also built forts at Kajun and Magra which till then had only been open villages.

When Bir-Sen had in this way conquered all the petty Chiefs immediately to the west of the Satluj, he next invaded the territory of the Thakur of Kandlikot to the south-west, who offered no resistance. The next petty ruler to feel the weight of his hand was the Thakur of Surhi, who owned the *thanas* of Chandmari and Jahor and also the *ilaga* of Pangna. The Thakur at once gave in his submission and urged the Raja to attack the Thakur of Haryara, with whom he was at feud. On hearing of the invasion, the Thakur fled and his territory was annexed, and a fort built which is called Tikar down to the present day. Bir-Sen then selected a site in the Surhi *ilaga*, at 5,000 ft. above sea level, called Pangna, where he built a palace, and made it the capital of the State. The Pangna palace is still in a good state of preservation, but it is not known if the present building contains any portions of the original structure, as it has never been examined by an expert.

Bir-Sen then built the fort of Chawasi, and also conquered the fort of Birkot on the borders of Kumiarsen. With Chawasi as a base, he then advanced into Saraj and captured the forts of Srigarh, Naraingarh, Raghupur, Janj, Madhupur, Banga, Chanjwala, Magru, Mangarh, Tung, Jalauri, Himri, Raigarh, Fatehpur, Bamthaj, Raisan, Godah and

Koth-Manali from different Thakurs, who probably till then had been more or less under Kulu.¹ He also invaded Parol, Lag, Rupi, Sari and Dumbhri, all of which are in Kulu. The Kulu Raja, called Bhupal, probably Bhup-Pal of the Kulu *Vansavali*, advanced to oppose him and was defeated and taken prisoner. Bhupal, however, was soon released and restored to power, on condition of paying tribute.

After returning from the conquest of Kulu, Bir-Sen captured Pandoh, Nachni and the following forts : Chiryahan, Raiyahan, Jurahandi, Satgarh, Nandgarh, Chachiot and Sawapuri.

Having overrun and subdued the northern portion of the State, he next turned westward towards the Balh *ilaga*, and advanced as far as the Sikandar ka Dhar, now in Mandi. The Rana of Hatli was defeated, and a fort, named Birkot, founded to commemorate the event. The name is now Biharkot.

Thereafter Bir-Sen fixed the boundary with Kangra, by erecting a fort on the Sir-Khad, called Bira, now in Mandi. The conquered tracts thus extended from the Satluj on the south to the Bias on the north, and from the latter river on the east to the Sir-Khad on the west, forming the boundary with Kangra.

The extensive conquests ascribed to Bir-Sen, are hardly in keeping with what we know to have been the condition of things in other States, which were consolidated only after centuries of warfare. It seems probable, therefore, that many of these conquests should be referred to a later period in the history of the State.

Bir-Sen was succeeded by his son, *Dhir-Sen*, whose reign was short. He probably continued the struggle with the petty Chiefs, but no details of his time have come down to us.

Bikram-Sen, the next Raja, seems to have been of a religious disposition, for soon after his accession he installed his brother, Tribikram-Sen, as regent of the State, and took his departure on pilgrimage to Hardwar, and was absent for two years. Kulu, which was still tributary, was then under the rule of Hast or Hait-Pal, grandson of Bhup-Pal. Tribikram-Sen proved unfaithful to his trust, and aimed

¹ According to tradition, Kulu State originally included all the territory now in Suket and Mandi. This tradition is current in Suket, Mandi and Bashahr as well as Kulu.

at supplanting his brother. For this purpose he sought the help of the Kulu Chief, whom he freed from tribute, on condition of receiving his support in the struggle with Bikram-Sen, after the latter's return.

On learning of what had occurred, Bikram-Sen went to his kinsman, the Raja of Keonthal, who furnished him with an army. The opposing forces met at Jiuri on the Satluj, and both Tribikram-Sen and Hast-Pal fell in the battle, and their forces were dispersed. Bikram-Sen then resumed his position as Raja.

In revenge for the action of Hast-Pal he invaded Kulu, subdued the country and appointed his own officers, assigning a *jagir* to Hast-Pal's son which was held by his descendants for three generations, during which they exercised no authority and were merely *jagirdars*.

On Bikram-Sen's demise, his son, *Dhartari-Sen*, succeeded, but there are no records of the events of his reign. He had two sons who both died during his own lifetime. Of these the younger was named Kharak-Sen¹ and his son, Lakshman-Sen, a minor of two years of age, was installed as Raja on Dhartari-Sen's death.

Lakshman-Sen being of tender years the State was under the control of the officials, and Hashir-(Hamir) Pal, the Raja of Kulu, took advantage of the opportunity to assert his independence. When Lakshman-Sen came of age—fourteen years later—he invaded Kulu, and overran the Waziris of Rupī, Lag-Sari and a part of Parol, and again made the State tributary.

On Lakshman-Sen's death, probably after a long reign of which we possess few details, he was followed by his son, *Chander-Sen*, who also had a long reign and died childless. His brother, *Bijai-Sen*, then came to the *gaddi*. He too seems to have reigned long, but the records tell us nothing of these reigns. We can only conjecture, from the analogy of other States, that the struggle between the Rajas and the petty barons went on as before, and was probably much the same in Suket as elsewhere.

Sahu-Sen, c. A.D. 1000.—*Bijai-Sen* left two sons, named *Sahu-Sen* and *Bahu-Sen*, of whom the elder succeeded. The brothers unfortunately seem to have been on unfriendly terms, and *Sahu-Sen*'s reign was marked by a quarrel which was fraught with grave consequences to the State. As the result

¹ The names are given as Mangal-Sen and Pangla-Sen in another document.

of this quarrel, Bahu-Sen retired to Manglaor then in Kulu, where he acquired a small tract and established himself as a petty Chief. His descendants in the twelfth generation founded Mandi State, which ultimately acquired large possessions, chiefly at the expense of Suket.

Ratan-Sen, c. A.D. 1020.—We have no details of this reign, which seems to have passed in comparative quiet. On his demise Ratan-Sen was succeeded by his elder son, *Bilas-Sen*, who was of a tyrannical disposition. After enduring oppression for four years, the officials poisoned him and placed his brother, *Samudra-Sen*, on the *gaddi*. Bilas-Sen left an infant son, named *Sewant-Sen*, and learning that the officials intended to put him out of the way, the *rani* fled to Saraj and found a refuge with a *Zamindar*, where she lived for some years, without disclosing her identity.

One day a *jogi* passing by saw the boy, and marking in him the signs of greatness, asked the *Zamindar* whose son he was, and added that he would one day become a Raja.¹ The *Zamindar's* curiosity having been aroused, he pressed the *rani* for an answer, and she told him the boy's parentage, but begged him not to disclose her secret to any one.

Meantime Samudra-Sen had been installed as Raja and ruled for four years, leaving at his demise two sons, minors, named *Hewant-Sen* and *Balwant-Sen*. Both of them in succession were placed on the *gaddi*, but died before attaining their majority, leaving no heirs. A question then arose as to who should succeed, and the officials recalled the fact that Bilas-Sen's infant son had been smuggled away and concealed. A search was therefore instituted and he was discovered and restored to his rights.²

Sewant-Sen, c.A. D. 1120.—On his accession Sewant-Sen, in gratitude for the kindness shown to his mother and himself, conferred on the *Zamindar* in *jagir* the village in which he had lived, and built a *Kot* or fort, naming it Rani ka Kot. The building is no longer in existence, but the *taluka* in Chawasi is still called Rani ka Kot. Sewant-Sen died after a long and prosperous reign of which we possess no records. He was followed by four Rajas whose names

¹ This is probably a reference to the *Urdh Rekḥ*, a line, like the "line of life" on the hand, which runs along the sole of the foot from the toes to the heel, and is peculiar to Rajputs of royal birth. A similar story is told in the Chronicles of Chamba and Kulu.

² There seems some uncertainty here about the succession and names may have been omitted in copying, a common mistake in the *Vansavalis*.

were *Dilawar-Sen*, *Biladar-Sen*, *Ugar-Sen* and *Bikram* or *Bir-Sen*, whose reigns seem to have been uneventful, as there is nothing known regarding them. We may, however, assume that they ruled in the twelfth century. *Mantar-Sen*, the next Raja, died without issue, and the succession devolved on one, *Liyun Phiyun*, a member of a collateral branch of the ruling house, who was of an indolent disposition and incapable of holding power. The State officials, therefore, resorted to a device to ascertain who should succeed. A fast was ordered, and the second day a special feast was held, attended by the Mians, or royal kinsmen, at which a sham message was announced in the middle of the feast, that a revolt had taken place among the Ranas in one part of the State. *Liyun Phiyun* remarked that there was no need for immediate action, and that the matter could stand over till after the feast. *Mian Madan*, however, who had been a miller, sprang to his feet, declaring that it was no time for feasting when the country was in danger, and seizing his arms he left the assembly. The officials and people being impressed with his courage and prompt action went after him and brought him back. He was then acclaimed Raja, being in fact next after *Liyun Phiyun* in the succession, and at once started to suppress the rebellion.

Madan-Sen, c. A.D. 1240.—*Madan-Sen* had a long and prosperous reign. On his first expedition against the Rana of Nachan, immediately after his installation, he found the country quiet and the petty Chiefs submissive, and thus he came to know the device which had brought about his elevation to the *gaddi*. He built a fort two *kos* to the north of Pangna, the capital, and called it *Madankot*. It is now in *Mandi* and is called *Madangarh*. *Madan-Sen* was a strong ruler, and greatly extended the area of the State by conquest. Till his reign the Bias was the boundary on the north, probably separating *Suket* from *Bangahal*. He undertook an expedition across the Bias and overcame the Rana of Drang, and captured the salt mines at that place. The large scales for weighing the salt he carried off to Pangna, where they may still be seen. On crossing the Bias he promised the ferrymen a *patha* of grain from each house, and, though the ferry is now in *Mandi*, they still receive an allowance of grain from that State.

Advancing north of Drang, *Madan-Sen* was opposed by the Rana of Guma whom he overcame after a severe struggle, and took a wooden drum as a war trophy, which

is still preserved in the fort of Pangna. He then turned in the direction of Kulu, which sometime before had thrown off the yoke of Suket, and reconquered the country, fixing the boundary at Kothi near Manali in the Bias Valley ; and at the Parbati in Waziri-Rupi. On his return journey he built the fort of Madanpur, the ruins of which are still to be seen in Kothi Khokhan in Kulu.

The Kulu records state that the Suket Raja, probably Madan-Sen, granted the territory from Manali to Bajaura, on the right bank of the Bias, to one Rana Bhosal, either a local petty Chief or an importation, who was married to a Suket princess. His principal stronghold was the fort of Baragarh opposite Nagar. Rana Bhosal was notorious for his stupidity, and on the advice of his Wazir, who had a grudge against the *rani*, he had her buried alive in the line of a water-course to ensure a plentiful supply of water to his rice-fields. A similar story is told in the Chamba annals in connection with the foundation of the present capital.¹

On hearing of the tragedy,² the Suket Raja came with an army, killed the Wazir, deposed the Rana, and resumed the territory. The Kulu records state that he granted the Waziris of Lag and Sari, in the Sarvari Valley, to his *parohit*, as an act of expiation for some sin which he had committed. This, however, seems to be incorrect, and, according to the Suket record, the grant was made by Parbat-Sen at a later period, as will be related.

Previous to Madan-Sen's reign, the State supremacy had been enforced on the small States to the south of the Satluj. Bhajji, Shangri and Kumharsen had refused the annual tribute, so Madan-Sen marched against them and reduced them to submission. Soon afterwards the Rana of Batwara, named Sri-Mangal, made an alliance with Kahlur (Bilaspur) and rebelled. On his defeat Madan-Sen expelled him from the State, and he crossed the Satluj and founded the small principality of Mangal, which still exists, naming it after himself.

There were other encounters with rebellious Ranas, for Madan-Sen had also to lead a force westward against the Rana of Hatli, and he also subdued the Thakurs of Mahal-Morian and crossed the Samlui range, now in Kangra, and the Galauri range now in Kahlur. He then reached the

¹ *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 73-4.

² The name is given as Rup-Chand (? Sen) in local tradition, perhaps a relative of Madan-Sen's. He was the *rani's* brother.

borders of Kutlehr and built a fort and a well at Katwalwah which still exist, and fixed his boundary with Kutlehr, annexing a small portion of the State.

Another expedition took him towards the south where he restored the forts of Seoni and Teoni now in Bilaspur, and erected the fort of Dehar in consequence of an omen, and this fort, it is said, has never been captured. He then returned to Pangna by way of Balh, and this seems to have been his last expedition.

Towards the end of Madan-Sen's reign an incident occurred which had important issues, for it led to the abandonment of Pangna as the capital of the State. One night, while he was asleep in his palace, the *devi*, or goddess of the place, it is said, appeared to him in a dream and told him that the spot on which he lay was her ancient *asthan* or place, and that he must leave it or evil would befall him. On awaking in the morning, with the dream still in his mind and looking around, he found an image with a throne, and a sword lying beside it. He therefore erected a temple on the spot, which is still extant. He then decided to abandon Pangna, and transferred the capital to Lohara on the Balh plain, between Mandi and Suket. He also built the temple of Asthambnath in Pangna.

Madan-Sen probably reigned in the middle or towards the end of the thirteenth century. Under his rule Suket reached the zenith of its prosperity and power, and from his death we may count the period of decline which reduced the State to its present limits. Madan-Sen was succeeded by *Darir-Sen*, *Dhartari-Sen*, *Parbat-Sen*, *Kam-Sen* and three more weak rulers, of whom we have no records. Even their names have dropped out of the *Vansavali*.¹ The eighth was *Sangram Sen*, who was 28th in succession from Bir-Sen, the founder of the State.

It was presumably during these weak reigns that the Mandi Rajas found an opportunity to push their conquests on the Bias, largely at the expense of the parent State. Sangram-Sen was followed by Mahan-Sen.

Mahan-Sen, c. A.D. 1480.—Mahan-Sen bears an evil reputation in the record. Lohara was still the capital, and Mahan-Sen, who resided there, had become enamoured of a Brahman's

¹ In A.D. 1388 Muhammad Tughlak in his flight from Delhi passed through Suket on his way to Nagarkot, where he found a refuge till recalled to the throne. He was pursued as far as Suket and Gwalior (Guler).—Vide *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, Elliot, *History*, Volume IV, page 19.

wife whom he frequently visited in disguise during her husband's absence. This went on for some time, till some one made the husband acquainted with the matter. He lay in wait one night and killed the intruder, discovering afterwards that it was the Raja. He then went to the *rani* and told her what had happened, and she had the body cremated without question. As Mahan-Sen had no son, his uncle, *Haibat-Sen*, succeeded. He is said to have been a just and beneficent ruler, but his reign was a short one, and he was followed by *Amar-Sen*¹ and *Ajimardan-Sen*.

Parbat-Sen, c. A.D. 1500.—The records are silent about the events of this Raja's time, but we read of an incident of his reign which has an interesting bearing on Kulu history. It is said that the Raja disgraced a Brahman *parohit* without inquiry or proof, who was accused of intimacy with a *bandi* or slave girl, presumably in the royal zenana. The *parohit* in consequence committed suicide, but before doing so he protested his innocence, and pronounced a curse on the Raja. Immediately after this, *Parbat-Sen*'s health began to fail. He sought to expiate his sin by conferring the Waziris of Lag and Sari on the Brahman's family in *jagir*, but to no purpose, and died soon afterwards.

Now the Waziris of Lag and Sari are in Kulu, which seems to have been still under the control of Suket from the reign of Madan-Sen, who, according to the Kulu records, may have made the grant. It seems more probable, however, that the incident is correctly associated with the name of *Parbat-Sen*.

From the *parohit*'s family was descended the line of Lagwati Rajas, who, after acquiring the Waziris of Lag and Sari in the Sarvari Valley, became independent rulers, on the final overthrow of the Suket power in Kulu. They then extended their sway over the main Bias Valley, from Raisin to Bajaura, with portions of Saraj and Bangahal, until finally overthrown by Jagat-Singh of Kulu about A.D. 1650.

Kartar-Sen, c. A.D. 1520.—The incident above noted led to another change of the capital. Lohara was looked upon as under a curse in consequence of what had occurred, the *parohit*'s suicide being regarded as Brahman-murder, and the Raja, therefore, removed his place of residence to a palace which he built above the Taramari forest. Below it he found-

¹ In another copy of the *Vansavali* *Amar-Sen* and *Parbat-Sen* are named *Parbat-Sen* and *Padam-Sen*, respectively.

ed a town, naming it Kartarpur after himself, now called Purana Nagar, two miles north of Sundarnagar, the present capital.

Kartar-Sen had a long and prosperous reign. His queen was a Jaswan princess, who bears a revered memory in Suket for her generosity and pious endowments conferred on Brahmans.

Arjun-Sen, c. A.D. 1540.—Arjun-Sen was a contemporary of Bahadur-Singh of Kulu, and during his reign much territory was lost to the State.¹ Sidh-Singh of Kulu, father of Bahadur-Singh, had come back from the outer hills, where his family seems to have been driven by an uprising of the Ranas and Thakurs, and on being acclaimed Raja he began the reconquest of the country, much of which was still under Suket. The Baragarh fort was held by a garrison, and this he captured by stratagem, and drove the Suket force out of the main Bias Valley. Waziri-Rupi still owed allegiance to Suket, and the *Zamindars* went to Arjun-Sen to present some requests. Being of an arrogant and overbearing nature he treated them uncourteously, kept them waiting for some days, and on coming out to see them he gruffly asked, "Why the crows of Rupī had come to him," and refused their requests. Being incensed at this treatment, they agreed, on the way back, to tender their allegiance to Bahadur-Singh, who had succeeded Sidh-Singh in Kulu. On presenting themselves before him, Bahadur-Singh, more politic than the ruler of Suket, received them with the question, "Why have the lords of Rupī come to me?" Being gratified at this kind reception, they replied that they had formerly been the subjects of Kulu, and desired to become so again. Thus Rupī was also lost to Suket.

Many of the Ranas and Thakurs in other parts also revolted. Mandi too had risen into power and began to encroach on Suket, and it is said that in Arjun-Sen's reign half the territory was alienated from the State and never regained.

Udai-Sen, c. A.D. 1560.—Arjun-Sen was succeeded by his son, Udai-Sen, who did much to repair the loss sustained during his father's reign. He subdued the rebellious petty Chiefs, more especially the Rana of Cheddi, whose estate he

¹ In the *Kulu Chronicle* Arjun-Sen is a contemporary of Sidh-Singh, but this is probably incorrect.

confiscated, and built a fort named Udaipur to commemorate his victory; but his efforts to restore the prestige of Suket were only partially successful. He must have been a contemporary of Akbar, but there is no reference to the Mughals till a later period. We know, however, from other sources that most of the Hill States were subjected during Akbar's reign, and we may assume that in Suket, too, the Mughal influence was felt, either in this or the following reign.

Dip-Sen, c. A.D. 1590.—Dip-Sen is said to have had a long reign, but we have no further details. One thing seems clear, that from Arjun-Sen onwards the average reign cannot have been less than 30 years, unless some names have dropped out of the list, which seems unlikely at that late period. Where this has taken place, it has usually been at a much earlier period in any of the State histories.

Shyam-Sen, c. A.D. 1620.—A strange story of intrigue is told in connection with this Raja's reign. He had two *rani*s, one from Guler and the other from Bashahr, who became *enceinte* about the same time, causing much jealousy between them.

The Guleri Rani's son, Ram-Sen, was born first, and was recognized as *Tikka* or heir-apparent. The same *rani* afterwards bore a second son, named Prithi-Singh, and a daughter, who on growing up was married to Kalian-Chand of Kahlur.

In due course the Bashahri *rani* also had a son, named Hari-Singh, and then she intrigued to get Ram-Sen out of the way, in order to make room for her own son. For this purpose she entered into a compact with one, Mian Jughanun, who undertook to carry out the plot, and one day, finding a favourable opportunity, he pushed Ram-Sen into a cellar. When the boy was missed diligent search was made for him, and at last it occurred to Naurang-Singh, the Raja's younger brother, to search the cellar, and the child was found alive and saved. On this plot being discovered, the Bashahri Rani was banished from the State along with her son, and Mian Jughanun, and his whole family, except one woman who was pregnant, were executed. From this woman are descended the Jughanun Mians, who are still found in the State. Hari-Singh was also displaced from the position of Duthain, or heir-presumptive, in favour of Prithvi-Singh.

The first mention of the Mughals in the annals occurs in the reign of Shyam-Sen. It is said that he and his brother,

Naurang-Singh, were summoned to Lahore by Aurangzeb, and ordered to capture a strong fortress, in which duty they were successful. As a reward for their valour the Emperor conferred on the Raja a *khilat* or dress of honour, with permission to issue his own coinage, which long continued in currency. The reference, however, is probably to an earlier period and in the reign of Shahjahan.

The chief event of Shyam-Sen's reign was the war with Kahlur or Bilaspur. As already stated, his daughter was married to the Raja of that State, named Kalian-Chand. One day he and his *rani* were playing chess when some hill bards, in sounding his praises, called him "the lord of seven *dhars* (ranges)." On learning the names of these *dhars*, the *rani* remarked that one of them was in Suket, and this so enraged the Raja that he struck her on the forehead with the chess-board and drew blood. Soon afterwards he issued orders for an invasion of Suket, and sent to Suraj-Sen of Mandi for help. The *rani*, hearing of what was proposed, sent a letter secretly to her father, written in blood from the wound on her forehead, to warn him of the danger.

The two armies met near Mahadeo, and after a fierce encounter, Kahlur and Mandi were defeated, and Suraj-Sen fled from the field. Kalian-Chand was less fortunate. Early in the conflict his horse was wounded and lamed. He then asked the loan of a horse from a Sanghwal Mian in his service, and was refused. Soon afterwards he was attacked and mortally wounded by Pathans in the service of Suket, and trying to flee was pursued and captured. His army then dispersed.

A chivalrous incident is recorded in connection with this war. Before leaving Bilaspur Kalian-Chand had vowed to water his horse at the tank in Suket. Hearing of this Shyam-Sen gave orders that the wounded man should be carried to Suket from the battlefield so that he might perform his vow. He was then handed over to some Brahmans of his own State, who carried him in a *palki* to Bilaspur, but he died on the way. The Brahmans who conveyed his corpse to Bilaspur were rewarded by being granted an exemption from ferry dues, which their descendants still enjoy, and the place where Kalian-Chand died is still called *Kalian-Chand ki Dwari*. On account of the disloyalty of the Sanghwal Mian, who refused his horse to Kalian-Chand, his descendants to this day are forbidden the use of horses from Kahlur.

Shyam-Sen was probably a contemporary of Jagat-Singh of Nurpur, and a reference is found in the history to that Chief. On account of the great favour he enjoyed at the Mughal court in the time of Shahjahan, Jagat-Singh seems to have conceived the design of making himself paramount in the hills. Chamba and Basohli were both subdued by him, and he next turned his attention to Mandi, Suket and Guler. The Mandi Raja, Suraj-Sen, escaped the plot laid for him, but Shyam-Sen and Man-Singh of Guler were not so fortunate.¹

An expedition had been sent into the Jammu Hills to suppress a revolt, and when called upon to furnish a contingent, Shyam-Sen failed to do so, owing to his relationship to the Jammu Chief. A complaint was then lodged against him by the Nurpur Raja, and he and his brother, Naurang-Singh, were summoned to Delhi and cast into prison. Man-Singh of Guler had also been imprisoned on a similar complaint. During his captivity Shyam-Sen is said to have prayed to Mahun Nag, who appeared to him in the form of a bee, and promised an early release. Accordingly, both Rajas were soon afterwards set at liberty, possibly in consequence of Jagat-Singh's rebellion in A.D. 1641, and returned to their respective States.

On their way back from Delhi, by way of Aiwan, they were opposed by the Rana of Bashahr, who entertained a grudge against Shyam-Sen, on account of the banishment of his sister. He was defeated, and had to pay a *nazrana* of Rs. 50,000, after which he was granted the title of Raja. A fort was then erected with the money, twelve miles east of Suket, and named Mangarh, which is now in ruins.

On his return from Delhi, Shyam-Sen, in gratitude for his deliverance, granted a *jagir* of Rs. 400 a year to the temple of Mahun Nag, so-called from Mahun (bee), owing to the Nag having appeared to the Raja in that form. At a later period the grant was reduced to Rs. 300 a year, which is still maintained. Naurang-Singh, the Raja's brother, is said to have died in prison.

During Shyam-Sen's imprisonment, the Rajas of Kulu and Mandi combined against Suket and invaded Saraj, a portion of which still remained in the possession of the State. These Rajas probably were, Jagat-Singh of Kulu and Suraj-Sen of Mandi. The Kulu Raja seized the *parganas* of

¹ Vide *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, pages. 116-17.

Srigarh, Pirkot, Naraingarh, Janji, Jalauri, Raghobpur, Bari, Dumbri, Madanpur and Bhamri, while Mandi acquired Garh, now called Saraj-Mandi, Raigarh, Chanj-wala, Magrah, Tungasi, Madhopur, Bunga, Fatehpur, Baj-Thaj, Bagrah, Bansi and the Gudah *ilagas*. Some of the Thakurs in these districts joined the invaders, and in this way much territory was lost to the State, including the portion of Kutlehr conquered by Madan-Sen.

On hearing of these invasions on his return, Shyam-Sen petitioned the Emperor, through the Nawab of Sirhind, to have his territories restored, and orders were given to this effect; but before they could be carried out the Nawab died, and there the matter ended. This want of success he attributed to an incident recorded in the annals.

Though fortunate in his wars with Bashahr and Kahlur, Shyam-Sen's reign marked the beginning of the rapid decline in the fortunes of Suket, and this was ascribed to the fact that he parted with a special *chola* or coat given him by a *jogi* to wear in battle. The story goes that on one occasion a *jogi*, named Chand Piri, came to Suket, and took up his abode in a cave near the village of Pareri, close to the capital.

The Raja was very kind and indulgent to such people, and one day in gratitude the *jogi* gave him a *chola*, the wearing of which in battle would ensure victory.

The coat was thoughtlessly made over to his groom, and, on putting it on, the latter was reduced to ashes. On this the *jogi* was angry, and cursed the Raja and died soon afterwards in his cave. Shyam-Sen did everything in his power to avert the curse; he built a temple to the *jogi*, and endowed it, and also assigned one *patha* of grain from each house, as well as all fines imposed on *faqirs*. These dues continued to be paid down to the time of Bikrama-Sen, but were afterwards somewhat modified.

Ram-Sen, c. A.D. 1650.—From this time onwards Mandi began to enlarge her borders more and more at the expense of Suket. The entire country north of the Bias had already passed away from the State, as well as Saraj-Mandi, and also the territory towards the west around Kamlahgarh. The Mandi Rajas then cast covetous eyes on the fertile Balh plain, lying between the two capitals, and the struggle between the two States was long and fierce. As Sir Lepel Griffin remarks: "Mandi and Suket have always been rivals and generally enemies, but for several generations there was little

to show on either side as the result of their warfare. When a powerful Raja ruled at Suket, he won back all the territory which his predecessors had lost, and at one time Suket possessions extended to the very walls of Mandi. In the same manner, when a powerful Chief ruled in Mandi, the borders of Suket were much reduced, and its outlying forts and districts fell into the hands of its rival. The plain of Balh lying between the two capitals was common ground of desire and dispute."¹

In Ram-Sen's reign the struggle for this fertile tract began, and it was the scene of many a conflict. To protect the people of Madhopur on the plain from the inroads of Mandi, Ram-Sen erected a fort and called it Ramgarh after himself.

Ram-Sen's reign does not seem to have been a long one, and a tragic occurrence darkened the latter years of his life. As the result probably of a palace intrigue, suspicion was aroused in his mind by the Brahman *parohits*, regarding the chastity of his own daughter, and he had her removed to Pangna. The suspicion was groundless, but she took the disgrace so much to heart that she poisoned herself. Soon afterwards she appeared to him in a dream, and warned him against the unfaithful *parohits*, but they were too powerful to be touched, and compunction for his deed seems to have affected the Raja's mind, for he soon afterwards became insane and died.

Jit-Sen, c. A.D. 1663.—Owing to his father's insanity Jit-Sen² had been appointed regent. He seems to have been of a weak disposition and also suffered from epilepsy, but was cured by a Bhat Brahman from Bengal, to whom a *jagir* was assigned, which is still held by Bhats. This illness, as well as other misfortunes, seem to have been attributed to the influence of the dead princess in Pangna, who was worshipped as a malevolent spirit. To appease her, Jit-Sen had an image set up in the female apartments in Pangna palace, and a *jagir* assigned, and also one pice from each house, which continued to be given till the time of Ugar-Sen.

The *parohits*, who had been the cause of her death, were also forbidden to visit Pangna. They were, however, too

¹ *The Rajas of the Punjab*, page 579.

² In another *Vansavali* Jit-Sen is named Jaichand-Sen, and he is said to have been Ram-Sen's nephew. According to this *Vansavali* Ram-Sen died without a son.

powerful to be dealt with in any other way, and so the injunctions of the *devi*, or dead princess, could not be fully carried out.

Jit-Sen's twenty-two children died in infancy, and during his reign much territory was lost to the State. As the record says: "Jit-Sen was defeated in every battle he fought." Shyam-Sen was then Raja of Mandi and strong feeling existed between the two Chiefs. Shyam-Sen being of a dark complexion,¹ Jit Sen used to refer to him tauntingly by the name of "Tikarnath," meaning "a vessel for parching grain." On one occasion the Mandi agent had been sent to Suket with a message and, on appearing in Darbar, Jit-Sen asked him in a taunting manner what Tikarnath was doing. The agent, with ready wit, replied that Tikarnath was red hot and ready to parch grain. This incident stirred up feeling on both sides, and an immediate rupture was the result. The two armies met near Lohara on the Balh plain, and after a short contest Jit-Sen was defeated and fled from the field. He was pursued and overtaken by a Katoch Mian in the service of Mandi, who was about to kill him, when he begged for his life as being a ruling prince.

His life was spared, but the Katoch snatched the insignia of royalty from his head-dress, and carried them to Shyam-Sen. For this service he was assigned a quantity of salt from the Drang mines, which is still duly granted to his descendants, Mandi then annexed the Balh plain, as far as the Suketi Nala. Soon afterwards Gaur-Sen of Mandi, son of Shyam-Sen of that State, in conjunction with the Raja of Kahlur, conquered Garh Dhanyara, Bera and Peri.

The next Raja of Mandi, Sidh-Sen, aided by Bhim-Chand of Kahlur, also attacked Suket, and seized the Dhar of Hatli, and the forts of Birkot and Maryauli. The last named was annexed by Kahlur and the other two by Mandi. Other severe reverses were sustained through the treachery of the State Wazir, a *parohit* named Anup, who was secretly in league with Sidh-Sen of Mandi. He invited the Mandi Raja to attack the Rana of Nachan, promising that no help would be sent from Suket. The Rana was too weak to stand alone, and on applying for assistance through Anup, his letters were held back and no help was given. Still the Rana bravely fought on for two years, till at last he was killed and his son, Harnath, fled to Kahlur. Nachan was then annexed to

¹ Skr. *Shyama* means "dark."

Mandi, along with the following forts : Nachan, Churyahan, Rayahan, Madangarh, Chaurahandi, Mastgarh, Nandgarh, Jaijios, Rajgarh and Shivapuri, also called Hat.

Garur-Sen, A.D. 1721.—Jit-Sen died childless in A.D. 1721 after a long but inglorious reign of 58 years, and the succession, therefore, descended to Garur-Sen, grandson of Hari-Singh, who with his mother had been banished from the State in the reign of Shyam-Sen. For a time the people refused to tender their allegiance, probably owing to the fact that his grandfather had been displaced in favour of his younger half-brother, Prithvi-Singh. Meanwhile the administration was in the hands of the Prithipur Mians, who had formed a kind of council. The Raja of Bashahr then wrote to some of the people, pointing out that Garur-Sen was the rightful heir, and the officials and people brought him to Nagar and installed him at the Narsinghji Temple. Even then, however, the people of the capital refused to acknowledge him out of fear of the Mians and *parohits*.

Seeing the feeling against him and fearing for his own life, Garur-Sen retired to Kulu, where he was received with all honour as the rightful Raja of Suket. He also went to Kangra where he had a similar reception, and was sent back to claim his rights. On the way he married the daughter of the Rana of Himli, and on becoming aware of the support accorded by Kulu and Kangra the people bowed to his authority and tendered their allegiance. The Prithipur Mians then fled to Garhwal.

In Garur-Sen's reign Baned, now called Sundarnagar, was founded on the small plain two miles south of Nagar, and it became the capital in the reign of Bikrama-Sen. Garur-Sen's *rani*, who seems to have been a wise and capable woman, constructed the Suraj-Kund Temple which is still extant. By her Garur-Sen had two sons, Bhikam-Sen and Bahadur-Singh. As has been related, Shyam-Sen's daughter, who poisoned herself at Pangna, was afterwards regarded as a malevolent spirit. She had previously appeared to her father and her brother, Ram-Sen, and now in a dream she also warned Garur-Sen against the *parohits*, who had brought the false accusation against her. Till then they were so powerful that no one dared to attack them, but they had now fallen into disfavour, probably on the flight of the Mians, and this was increased by the fact that Wazir Anup, who played into the hands of Mandi, was one of them. They

were, therefore, excommunicated, so that no one would eat or associate with them, and the name of *Nachhuhan* or "untouchable" was given them.

It will be recalled that on the fall of Nachan and the death of the Rana, his son, Harnath, fled to Kahlur. On hearing of the excommunication of the *parohits*, he returned to Suket, and a *jagir* was conferred on him at Churagh, which his descendants continued to enjoy till the reign of Ugar-Sen, when the last of the line, Bhagwan-Singh, died without issue. A yearly allowance of Rs. 300 was then granted to the widow at her own request, in lieu of the *jagir*, which was resumed.

Garur-Sen had a long reign, and died in A.D. 1748.

Bhikam-Sen, A.D. 1748.—This reign covered a period of great political importance in the Panjab. Ahmad Shah Durani had, in the year 1747, invaded the province for the first time, and in 1752 it was ceded to him by his name-sake, Ahmad Shah of Delhi. Taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed, Suket, like many other Hill States, became independent, and remained so till about 1765-70, except for a short break in 1758, when all the eastern Hill States, and even the Mughal Governor of Kangra, were subject to Adina Beg Khan. This remarkable man had risen from a humble position to be Governor of the Doab under the Mughals and afterwards the Duranis, and ultimately Viceroy of the Panjab. He built Adinanagar near Pathankot, which is named after him, but died in 1758.

Meanwhile the Sikhs had risen into power and Jassa-Singh, Ramgarhia, was the first to invade the Kangra Hills and subject to his suzerainty several of the Hill States, among which probably was Suket. There is, however, no reference to the Sikhs in the State annals of the period.

Some unimportant wars took place during Bhikam-Sen's reign of which we have no record. He had two sons, Ranjit-Sen and Kishan-Singh, the former of whom succeeded on his father's death in 1762.

Ranjit-Sen, A.D. 1762.—In this reign an attempt was made to recover Nachan from Mandi, and Kishan-Singh, the Raja's younger brother, set out with a force for this purpose. After severe fighting he captured Shivapuri or Hat, but his lead and powder ran short, and he sent messengers to Suket for a supply. They, however, were unfaithful, having been bought over by Mandi, and instilled into the Raja's mind the suspicion that Kishan-Singh was disloyal and meant to

make himself independent in Nachan. No supplies were sent, and Kishan-Singh was compelled to abandon the expedition. He then went to Sansar-Chand of Kangra, who was his son-in-law, and obtaining help he returned and in revenge sacked and burnt Suket. He then retired to Jagan-nath. This must have occurred after 1775, the year in which Sansar-Chand became Raja of Kangra.

For sometime before this, as we have said, the State may have been tributary to Jassa-Singh, Ramgarhia, who was the first Sikh leader to invade the Kangra Hills, and to subject several of the States. His authority lasted till 1775, when being defeated on the plains, he retired from the hills leaving the suzerainty in the hands of Jai-Singh Kanheya, who held it till 1786.

Ranjit-Sen contracted marriage relations with Sirmaur and Guler, and the latter marriage especially was celebrated with great pomp. The Sirmaur Rani had a son named Bikrama-Sen, and the Guleria Rani's sons were Amar-Singh and Mian-Singh, but they both died young.

During Ranjit-Sen's reign the administration was in the hands of an able and faithful Minister, named Narpal, on whom the Raja placed great reliance. The records speak of Narpal's rule as having been a time of peace and prosperity in Suket, when the law was strictly upheld and property was secure.

For some reason ill-feeling was aroused between the Minister and Bikrama-Sen, the heir-apparent, and on one occasion the young prince in anger drew his sword and was about to strike the Wazir when his father intervened. On this Bikrama-Sen withdrew to Mahal-Mori in Bilaspur and resided there till his father's death. Ranjit-Sen died in 1761 from poison, accidentally administered by a physician.

To make the subsequent course of events clear it is necessary here to advert to the political condition of the Kangra hills, during the latter part of Ranjit-Sen's reign. By that time Mughal rule had entirely disappeared from the hills, except in Kangra Fort, where Saif Ali Khan, the last of the Mughal Kiladars or Governors, still held out. Though surrounded by enemies on all sides and owning almost nothing outside the walls, this brave man continued to maintain his position for upwards of 40 years. Ghamand-Chand of Kangra, who had been appointed Governor of the Jalandhar

Doab by Ahmad Shah Durani, in 1758, besieged the fort, but failed to capture it, and his grandson, Sansar-Chand, also attempted the task but in vain. He then called in Jai-Singh Kanheya, and after the death of the old Nawab in 1783, the fortress fell into the hands of the Sikhs, with whom it remained till 1786. On Jai-Singh's defeat on the plains it was ceded to Sansar-Chand, and along with it he acquired the paramount power over the Hill States, between the Satluj and the Ravi, including Chamba and probably also Basohli.¹

With the prestige conferred by the possession of the fort, Sansar-Chand arrogated to himself supreme authority over the hill Chiefs, whom he compelled to attend his court and accompany him on his military expeditions. In this manner he ruled despotically over the hills for twenty years, and no one dared to resist his will. Suket was tributary, but seems to have suffered less than other States at his hands, perhaps owing to his relationship to Kishan-Singh, Ranjit-Singh's younger brother, whose daughter he had married.

Bikrama-Sen, A.D. 1791.—On his father's death, Bikrama-Sen returned from Mahal-Mori in Bilaspur, and was installed as Raja. His first act after his father's funeral obsequies was to consign Narpāt, the Wazir, to prison in the fort of Batwara, where he was soon afterwards executed.

In 1792 Sansar-Chand, on some pretext, invaded Mandi, made the Raja, Ishwari-Sen, then a minor, prisoner, and plundered the capital. On his approach, Bikrama-Sen gave in his allegiance and assisted the invaders. Sansar-Chand's force was accompanied by Kishan-Singh, who had retired to Jagannath after sacking Suket, and he now tendered his allegiance to his nephew, and advanced Rs. 80,000 of his own money to prosecute the war with Mandi. With the help of Sansar-Chand's troops he captured six strongholds and made them over to Suket.

The attack on Mandi was rendered easy by the capture of Ishwari-Sen, and his retention as a prisoner for twelve years by Sansar-Chand at Nadaun, and during the whole of that time war continued between the two States.

Pannu Wazir was killed in battle at Sikandra, where Mandi had the help of Kahlur, and Ghorkan, his brother, was then appointed to the office of Wazir, but he was shot, while out hunting, by Mian Bishan-Singh, son of Kishan-Singh, to whom he had acted discourteously.

¹ *Kangra Gazetteer*, pages 33-4.

Early in his reign Bikrama-Sen removed the capital to Baned, now Sundarnagar, two miles south of Suket, which had been founded by Garur-Sen. Suket, or Nagar, then came to be called Purana Nagar, but it has greatly declined since a third town, named Bhojpur, sprang up half-way between it and Baned.

Meanwhile events of great political importance had been taking place in the hills to the east of the Satluj. On the break up of Mughal authority, the Gurkhas of Nepal also took advantage of the anarchy that prevailed on the plains to extend their sway over the hill tracts to the west, as far as the Satluj; and all the Hill States bordering on that river, including Bilaspur, were subject to them. They also, it is said, cast covetous eyes on the country still farther west, under Sansar-Chand, and even aimed at the conquest of Kashmir.

By 1805 Sansar-Chand's arrogance had reached such a pitch that the hill Chiefs of the Kangra States all combined against him and, through the Raja of Bilaspur, sent an invitation to Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, to invade Kangra, promising him their support¹. This invitation he readily accepted, and crossed the Satluj at Bilaspur, where he was joined by contingents from the Hill States. Sansar-Chand's forces were defeated in Mahal-Mori, and the Gurkhas then advanced into the interior of the country and laid siege to Kangra Fort. On reaching Nadaun they liberated Ishwari-Sen of Mandi and sent him back to his capital. On hearing of the loss of territory which the State had sustained during his captivity, Ishwari-Sen sent a letter to the Raja of Kahlur to ask his help in recovering the lost territory.

Bikrama-Sen was, therefore, invited to Bilaspur and was persuaded into going by Ablu, the Wazir, who had a grudge against him on account of the murder of Ghorkan, who was his brother. On arrival he was placed under a Gurkha guard for six months and compelled to surrender the six forts, including Hatli and Balh, which had been taken from Mandi. But even then he was not set at liberty, and fearing for his life he sent secretly to some of his officials who came and carried him off by night, leaving his *hugga-bardar* in his place. He was conveyed across the Satluj on a kind of raft called *khatnau*, and reached the fort of Dehar, in his own territory on foot.

¹Kangra Gazetteer pages 34-5.

The forts of Hatli and Birkot had meanwhile been seized by Mandi. This was in 1808. After his defeat Sansar-Chand had taken refuge in Kangra fort which was besieged by the Gurkhas for four years, 1806 to 1809, but they were unable to capture it. At last in despair he, in 1809, called in the help of Ranjit-Singh, and the Gurkhas were compelled to retire across the Satluj. The fort and the supremacy over the Hill States then passed into the hands of the Sikhs, to whom all the States including Suket became tributary.

In the case of Suket the tribute money was fixed at Rs. 10,000, but was soon afterwards raised to Rs. 15,000, and in collecting it the Sikhs took as much as Rs. 22,000. The money was raised by a process called *dhal*, which is still in force.

Bikrama-Sen had two sons, named Ugar-Sen and Jagat Singh, and one daughter who was married in Nurpur. On growing up to manhood Ugar-Sen, the heir-apparent, seems to have been associated with the Raja in the administration.

The yearly *nazrana* was soon felt to be too heavy a burden for the State to bear, and as it was paid through Mandi the latter State had to be considered in any plan for its reduction. The question was discussed by the Raja along with the heir-apparent and the officials, but without any result. At last Ugar-Sen and Narendar-Singh, a grandson of Kishan-Singh, privately agreed to make an attempt to have it reduced, and set out for Patiala and thence to Lahore. Narendar-Singh was known to Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, and on their presenting a request the tribute was reduced to Rs. 11,000 with the right to pay it direct.

The erection of Pali fort was one of the events of this reign, and also that of Dudar to protect Dehar, when Birkot fell into the hands of Mandi.

During Bikrama-Sen's reign Mr. William Moorcroft, in 1820, travelled through the hills on his way to Kulu and Ladakh, and was probably the first European to visit Suket.

Mr. Forster had also passed through the outer hills in 1783 from Bilaspur to Nurpur, but does not appear to have visited the State. Mr. Moorcroft's account of his journey is as follows :¹—"From Dehar to Suket the road lay partly over cultivated ground and partly over rugged paths obstructed by large blocks of lime-stone. As it approaches Suket

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, pages 43-4.

several forts are seen on the mountains to the left amongst which is Bagra, belonging to the Raja of Mandi. We encamped near a spring which forms one of the sources of the Suket river."

"On the arrival of the first of our party at the village (Suket) a general panic prevailed, and many of the people prepared to make their escape into the neighbouring thickets. A report had spread that the Feringis or Europeans were approaching with a numerous host to occupy and devastate the country, and the villagers imagined those of my people who had been sent on in advance, to be the precursors of the invading host. When they found, however, that our proceedings were wholly pacific and that we paid for the supplies we required, their terror was allayed, and gradually confidence succeeded to apprehension. They had never yet beheld a European, and curiosity brought crowd after crowd to look at the Sahib-log, until it was dark. Night set in with a thunderstorm, and in the darkness we were disturbed by the singular howling of the hyænas, which approached our encampment, and are said to be common here."

"The valley of Suket is not very extensive, and except to the south, where it is bounded by the Satluj and part of Kahlur, the whole Raj is shut in by the mountains of Mandi. The land is well cultivated, and more productive than any tract of similar extent I have seen in the Himalaya. The western side is watered by the Suketi and the eastern by the Kams, which rivulets unite and fall into the Bayah or Byas river above Mandi. The division between Suket and Mandi is indicated by a narrow ditch called 'Mukhi.'"

Mr. Moorcroft gives no particulars about the capital, and does not seem to have met the Raja. From his encampment he travelled through the Balh plain towards Mandi, where the whole caravan was halted for some time while Mr. Moorcroft retraced his steps to Lahore, to obtain permission to his further progress into the hills.

Bikrama-Sen was tall and handsome in person, and in his State administration he is said to have been strict and severe. He punished theft, robbery and traffic in women with the utmost rigour.

There is no record of the experiences of Suket under Sikh rule, but from the absence of these we may conclude that the period passed without any special events. While

other Hill States were being ruthlessly overturned by Ranjit-Singh, Kulu, Mandi and Suket for long remained unmolested, and continued to enjoy comparative peace. Bikrama-Sen died in 1838 and was succeeded by his son, Ugar-Sen.

Ugar-Sen, A.D. 1838.—Ugar-Sen was married four times, first in Kotlehr and by this *rani* he had two sons, Shib-Singh and Ram-Singh, and a daughter, Dei Sarda, who in 1858 was married to Raja Sri-Singh of Chamba. His Jamwali Rani bore the heir-apparent, Rudar-Sen, and the Patiala Rani, Mian Narain-Singh. Ugar-Sen also had three sons by concubines. In the early part of his reign a revolt occurred in Kahlur, and though there was long-standing ill-feeling between the two States, Ugar-Sen was applied to for help and gave a loan of Rs. 25,000 to the Kahlur Raja, with which he raised a regiment of Pathans for the suppression of the revolt. Ugar-Sen also made an attempt to bring about a reconciliation between the Kahlur Raja and his people, but while the proceedings were in progress the former died.

Suket was visited by Mr. Vigne, the traveller, in 1839, on his way back from the inner mountains. Unfortunately his notice of the place is very meagre, and he does not appear to have met the Raja. He says: "The country of the Sukyt Raja commences at the ferry (on the Satluj), and the town of the same name only a few miles distant is situated at the southern end of the valley, known by the name of Sukyt Mandi. The principal stream by which its surface is watered rises above Sukyt and flows northward towards Mandi where it joins the Beyas. Sukyt-Mandi is eight or ten miles in length, and three or four in breadth, richly cultivated, and containing numerous villages; and on each of the picturesque hills around are numerous forts; and perhaps no country of equal extent could boast of so many strongholds or what appear to be such." By Sukyt-Mandi Mr. Vigne evidently means the Balh plain lying between the two capitals and reaching to within two or three miles of Mandi, where the valley contracts to a quiet well-wooded and romantic glen such as may often be seen in England.

Till 1840 the State seems to have enjoyed comparative immunity from interference under Sikh rule,¹ but in that year a force was sent into the hills by Nau Nihal-Singh, grandson of Ranjit-Singh, under the command of General Ventura, with orders to seize the Rajas of Suket, Mandi and

¹ *History of the Punjab*, Prinsep, Volume II, pages. 218-19.

Kulu. There was about that time much talk in Lahore of an invasion of Central Tibet by way of Kulu, and it was considered necessary first to bring these countries fully under control, and capture the strong fortress of Kamlahgarh in Mandi.

On the approach of the Sikh army, Ugar-Sen gave in his submission and was treated with consideration. The Mandi Raja was not so fortunate, for he was inveigled into the Sikh camp, made a prisoner, and sent to Amritsar. The Kulu Raja fled into the mountains and for a time escaped.

But soon after this trouble was over a disagreement arose between the Raja and his heir-apparent, Rudar-Sen, then only 14 years of age, in consequence of which the latter retired to Mandi. Ugar-Sen followed him there, and through the good offices of Balbir-Sen of that State, who had returned from the plains, peace and good feeling were restored, and Rudar-Sen came back with his father to Suket.

In the same year, 1843, the *Tikka*, or heir-apparent, married a daughter of the Katoch family, and a little later Narendar-Singh, son of Bishan-Singh, was reconciled to Rudar-Sen, the heir-apparent, resulting in another estrangement between him and his father, of which Narendar-Singh seems to have been the cause.

Narendar-Singh had married his daughter to Maharaja Sher-Singh of Lahore, and thereby secured his support for himself and Rudar-Sen; and *parohit* Devi-Dat, Gordhan Kayat, Mian Kesu, Thakur Das Khatri and Tana Gital all espoused the *Tikka's* cause for this reason. One Shib Dat had great influence over the Raja, and his removal was the ostensible object; but the disclosure by Padha Narotam and Dhari of some papers, written by Gordhan, revealed the fact that it was intended to poison the Raja. Narendar-Singh was absent, but the *Tikka* was arrested; and Pat, the Kotwali Wazir, imprisoned Gordhan, Padha Tana and Devi Dat, and treated them with great harshness. Gordhan was dismissed from his position of *parohit*, and his house was sacked, while Narotam was appointed *parohit* in his stead. Narendar-Singh was also banished, and his *jagirs* were confiscated.

The *Tikka*, on being liberated, sought refuge in Kahlur, but was soon afterwards reconciled to his father through Mr. G. C. Barnes and returned to Suket. Wazir Pat was

next arrested and dismissed, and a fine of Rs. 10,000 was imposed upon him, while Narotam succeeded him. These events must have taken place in 1844-45. In the autumn of 1845 the Sikh army invaded British territory by crossing the Satluj, and Suket was called upon to furnish a contingent. But Ugar-Sen, having expelled the Sikhs from the State, joined with Balbir-Sen of Mandi, immediately after the battle of Sobraon, in sending a confidential agent to Mr. Erskine, Superintendent of the Simla Hill States, tendering their allegiance to the British Government, and requesting an interview. This was granted, and the two Chiefs, on 21st February, 1846, visited Mr. Erskine at Bilaspur, and tendered their allegiance in person.

On 9th March, 1846, a treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Sikh Darbar, whereby, among other provisions, the whole of the Doab between the Satluj and the Bias was ceded in perpetuity to Government. Mandi and Suket, being within the ceded territory, came directly under British control, and were placed in charge of the Commissioner of Jalandhar. In October 1846 a *sanad* was granted to Ugar-Sen confirming him in his possessions and defining his rights and obligations. By virtue of the *sanad* the suzerainty of Suket State was finally transferred from the Sikh to the British Government, and the tribute-money was fixed at Rs. 11,000, the sum payable to the Sikhs. The right of adoption was also granted at a later date, on the failure of direct heirs.

In 1853, *Tikka* Rudar-Sen, the heir-apparent, contracted two marriages, one in Garhwal and the other in Kahlur, and in the same year Dei Sarda was married to Raja Sri-Singh of Chamba, the marriage being celebrated with great pomp.

In 1857 family trouble again came to the front owing to an attempt to arrest Narotam, the Wazir, who wielded supreme influence with the Raja, and the *Tikka* again left Suket. The immediate cause seems to have been a case in which the Wazir imposed a fine on a Brahman which the Raja remitted, but in spite of this its payment was enforced. On this, Rudar-Sen and his supporters demanded the arrest of the Wazir, but the Raja, while agreeing, put off the matter for a year and-a-half, and the *Tikka* left the State, and went to Jalandhar and Lahore. Wazir Pat and Ishria Kayat resisted the Wazir for one-and-a-half years more, and then fled to Mandi.

In 1859 *Tikka* Rudar-Sen returned to Mandi on the occasion of the marriage of Bijai-Sen of that State to the daughter of the Raja of Datarpur. He was accommodated in the Ghasun Palace, and sent to Suket for his *ranis*. Owing to his proximity, disaffection began to show itself among the people of the State, and Ugar-Sen then represented to Colonel Lake, the Commissioner of Jalandhar, that if the *Tikka* did not agree to make peace he should be directed to remove himself to a distance, so as not to cause trouble in the State. Accordingly Rudar-Sen left his *ranis* in Mandi and went to Haripur in Patiala, where he was afterwards joined by the Kahluri Rani, and a son, Arimardan-Sen, was born in 1863. The Garhwali Rani had died in Mandi. Two years later a daughter was born, who was afterwards married to the Raja of Sirmour. In 1866 a second son, named Dusht-Nikandan-Sen, was born.

Meanwhile Narotam *parohit* continued to hold the office of Wazir, and he was also Wazir of the Narsingh Temple. It is said that he made a law that widows should be sold and the proceeds credited to the State and their property to the Narsinghji Temple, and this law remained in force while he was Wazir. He also built the Durga Temple from the revenues of Narsinghji.

Narotam appointed one Laongu as his deputy and placed all the hill tracts under him; but this seems to have led to his downfall, for soon afterwards Laongu's brother, Dhungal, was appointed Wazir, and Narotam was dismissed from office. The change of officers does not seem to have been an improvement, for Dhungal's administration was oppressive. He realized the fines called *dand* from respectable people, a custom which seems to have originated at the time of Ugar-Sen's accession. The people bore with his tyranny for a time, but when he was on tour in the hills they seized him and kept him a prisoner for twelve days in Garh Chawasi, releasing him only on receipt of the Raja's order.¹

Soon after, Ugar-Sen himself went on tour in the hills, and the complaints against Dhungal Wazir were such that he was imprisoned for nine months, and then fined Rs. 20,000. Laongu, his brother, seems to have been reappointed in his place, but in 1873, during a tour by the Raja in the hills, the people were fined Rs. 72,000 and some of them fled to Haripur

¹ Such an uprising is locally called a "Dum." Cf. *P. H. S. J.*, Volume VI, No. 2, pages 76-7.

(Guler) to take counsel with Rudar-Sen against the Raja. Laongu Wazir and one Bansilal, once a favourite of the Raja's, were both involved in this plot, and Laongu fled to Kahlur, and Bansilal was caught while escaping to Mandi and put in prison.

Ugar-Sen built the temple of Shiva at Anula Binla, and in A.D. 1876 he was seized with paralysis and died in the same year. In spite of his severity to his people he was respected for his liberality, courtesy and courage. He was well versed in Sanskrit, and was also acquainted with music and medicine.

Rudar-Sen, A.D. 1876.—On hearing of his father's death, Rudar-Sen came to Suket from Haripur, and was installed as Raja by Colonel Davies, Commissioner of Jalandhar. He then re-appointed Dhungal as Wazir, and Ramditta-Mal to examine the State accounts. Having done this he returned to Haripur and brought his family, after marrying the daughter of Jai-Singh of Arki. On his return he imposed a revenue of Rs. 4 to Rs. 8 per *khar*, called *dhal*, instead of a tax on each house, and resumed a *sasan* grant of about 540 *khars* of land. A year later Dhungal was dismissed and Ramditta-Mal was made Wazir.

As time went on Rudar-Sen's rule seems to have become more and more oppressive, the land revenue was increased, and other exactions levied on the *Zamindars*, till disaffection was created, and on applying to the Raja for redress of their grievances no satisfactory answer was given. Some of the Mians or royal kinsmen, suspected of fomenting disturbance, were banished from the State. At length the condition of things became so serious that the Commissioner of Jalandhar had to intervene. After enquiry, punishments were awarded, but this did not satisfy the Raja who left for Lahore.

On further inquiry Rudar-Sen was deposed in 1879, and after living sometime in Lahore and Jalandhar, he finally settled in Hoshiarpur where he died in 1887.

Arimardan-Sen, A.D. 1879.—Arimardan-Sen was only 15 years old at the time of his installation, and Mian Shib-Singh, the brother, and Jagat-Singh, the uncle of Raja Rudar-Sen, were appointed regents of the State. Sardar Hardy Singh of Kangra was appointed Tahsildar, and three years later became Superintendent. The Raja died at Dharamsala soon after his accession, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Dusht-Nikandan-Sen.

Dusht-Nikandan-Sen, A.D. 1879.—Being a minor the administration remained in the hands of the Superintendent until the Raja came of age and received full powers. On Sardar Hardayal Singh's retirement in 1884, Mr. Donald was appointed to the office of Wazir which he held till 1891.

In 1888 the land assessment was reduced $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas in the rupee in Chawasi, Bagrah, Ramgarh and Kajaun, and two annas in the rest of the State.

In March 1891, Mr. C. J. Hallifax, I.C.S., was appointed Councillor and remained in charge till May 1893.

Dusht-Nikandan-Sen during his reign carried out many improvements in the State. Shortly after his accession a dispensary was opened at Baned, the capital, and in 1893 a school was started at Bhojpur. A Post Office followed in 1900, and a Telegraph Office in 1906. The administration was improved, unnecessary posts were abolished, and considerable economies effected. The finances of the State were placed on a sound footing and all debts cleared off.

Much attention was also given to the construction of Public Works. The bridge over the Satluj at Jiuri was completed in 1889. The roads in the State were maintained in good repair; new offices, granaries and sepoy lines were erected at Baned, and also a new Jail.

Raja *Dusht-Nikandan-Sen* was married in 1881 to a niece of Raja Dhian-Singh of Arki, and his sons were *Tikka* Bhim-Sen, born in 1885, and Duthain Lachman-Singh in 1894. The Raja died in 1908 and was succeeded by his elder son, *Tika* Bhim-Sen.

Bhim-Sen, A.D. 1908.—Raja Bhim-Sen was educated at the Chiefs College, Lahore, and installed and invested with full powers by Sir Louis Dane, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. During his reign he carried out many improvements in the State. He erected a fine and fully equipped hospital at Baned, the capital, named the King-Edward Hospital. He also built bungalows at Baned, Seri and Dehar, and constructed a motor road from Suket to Mandi.

Raja Bhim-Sen rendered valuable services during the Great War, in recognition of which he received from the King-Emperor the distinction of Knighthood in the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire.

In October 1919 Raja Sir Bhim-Sen died of pneumonia without leaving any issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Kanwar Lakshman-Singh.

Raja Lakshman-Sen, A.D. 1919.—Raja Lakshman-Sen was installed by Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., in March 1920.

His Highness had become fully conversant with the various branches of the administration before his accession, and thus entered upon the duties of his exalted position fully equipped for their discharge. During his reign he has introduced many useful reforms. A Land Revenue Settlement has been carried out and the Judiciary and other Departments reorganised. Schools for boys and girls have also been opened. Of public buildings recently erected the principal are the Lakshman-Bhim Club, the Prince of Wales Orphan Home and the Chief Court.

On 1st November 1921 Suket was transferred from the political control of the Panjab Government to that of the Government of India.

